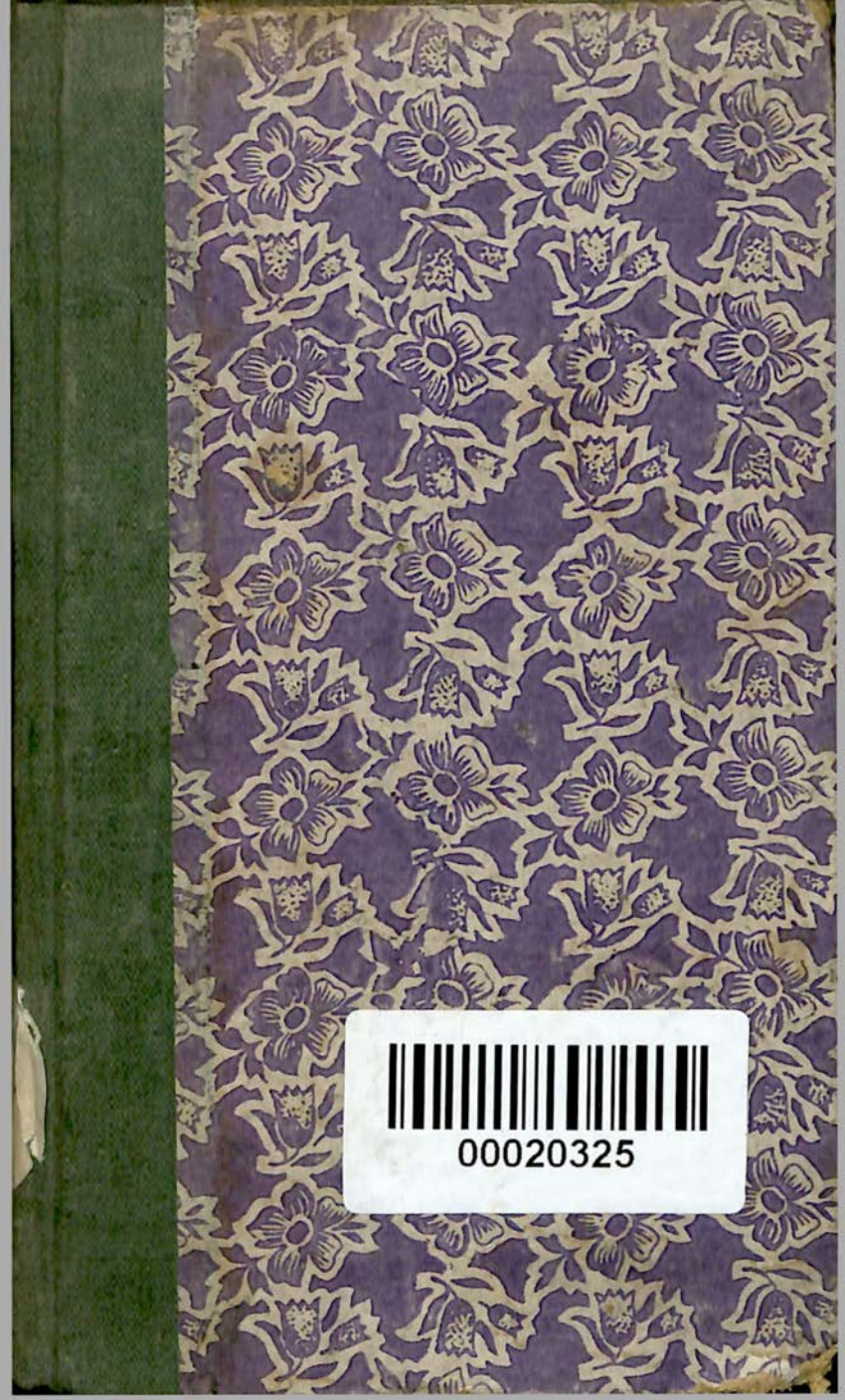
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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

BUCANIERS

OF

AMERICA.

CONTAINING,

I. The Exploits and Adventures of LE GRAND, LOLONOIS, ROCHE BRASILIANO, BAT the Portugueſe, Sir H. MORGAN, &c.

II. The dangerous Voyage and bold Attempts of Capt. SHARP, WATLIN, SAWKINS, COXON. and others, in the South Sea.

III. A Journal of a Voyage into the South Sea by the Free-booters of America, from 1684 to 1689.

IV. A Relation of a Voyage of the Sieur DE MONTAUBAN, Captain of the Free-booters, in Guinea, in the Year 1695.

EXHIBITING

A particular Account and Deſcription of PORTO BELLO, CHAGRE, PANAMA, CUBA, HAVANNA, and moſt of the Spaniſh Poſſeſſions on the Coaſts of the Weſt Indies, and alſo all along the Coaſts of the South Sea; with the Manner in which they have been invaded, attempted, or taken by theſe Adventurers.

The Whole written in ſeveral Languages by Perſons preſent at the Tranſactions.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE PREFACE.

IT would be superfluous to say much by way of Preface to the following work, since it has some years ago been exposed to public view with a general applause, and cannot but be particularly acceptable at this time, because the scenes of all the daring adventures and wondrous actions performed against the Spaniards, and therein described, are the places where the English courage and bravery are now prepared to exert themselves against the enemy that has so long oppressed our nation: but as there is here drawn together all that ever has been writ in any language upon the subject of Bucaniering, and that in a successive order of time, it will be necessary to enumerate the particulars thereof, for the better information and satisfaction of the reader.

In the First Part then we have all the expeditions and exploits of the Bucaniers of Jamaica and Tortuga, both English and French, set forth at large; and more especially what was transacted under the conduct of Sir Henry Morgan, by sacking of Porto-Bello, burning of Panama, &c. in the West-Indies, written originally in the Dutch tongue, by Joseph Esquemeling, one of the Bucaniers.

The Second Part contains the no less bold attempts and performances of men of the same kidney under the command of Captains Sharp, Sawkins, Coxon and others, on the coasts of the South Seas; the whole being intermixed with vast variety of adventures and discoveries, and written by Mr. Basil Ringrose, who kept a journal of the said voyage, being personally present at the transactions.

This

PREFACE.

This is ſucceeded by the Journal of a voyage made into the South Sea *by the* American *Free-booters, commencing from the year* 1684 *(about which time the other terminated) and ending at* 1689, *which was written in* French *by the Sieur* Ravenau de Luſſan, *an Enſign amongſt them; and indeed the particulars are all as new as they are ſtupendous and amazing; and for my own part, I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, that ſince my firſt peruſal, I could never yet think of them without the greateſt aſtoniſhment imaginable, eſpecially ſeeing the whole contexture and narrative is ſo plain and ſimple, that to me it ſeems to carry an evidence of truth in every part and tittle of it.*

I will not take upon me to apologize for many of the actions done, and here related, ſince even in the moſt regular troops and beſt diſciplined armies, daily enormities are committed, which the ſtricteſt vigilance cannot prevent; however, it is very remarkable, that in ſuch a lawleſs body as theſe Bucaniers *ſeemed to be in reſpect to all others, that yet there ſhould be ſuch an œconomy (if I may ſo ſay) kept, and regularity practiſed among themſelves, ſo that every one ſeemed to have his property as much ſecured as if he had been a member of the moſt civilized community in the world. But be thoſe things as they will, a bolder race of men, both as to perſonal valour and conduct, certainly never yet appeared on the liquid element, or dry land, and I hope it will be taken neither for an affront nor a compliment, to ſay the* Engliſh *were always the leading and prevailing party amongſt them.*

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE BUCANIERS, &c. IN AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

The Introduction. The Author ſets forth for the Weſtern Iſlands, in the ſervice of the Weſt-India Company of France. They meet with an Engliſh frigate, and arrive at the iſland of Tortuga.*

AS the Bucaniers in the Weſt Indies have been ſo formidable and numerous, that they have interrupted the trade of Europe into thoſe parts, and our Engliſh merchants, in particular, have ſuffered more by their depredations, than by the united force of France and Spain in the late war, we do not doubt but the world will be curious to know the original and progreſs of theſe deſperadoes, who were the terror of the trading part of the world.

* Joſeph Eſquemeling, in company with Le Grand, Lolonois, Roche Braſilano, Bat the Portugueiſe, &c.

But before we enter upon their particular hiſtory, it will not be amiſs, by way of introduction, to ſhew, by ſome examples drawn from hiſtory, the great miſchief and danger which threaten kingdoms and commonwealths from the increaſe of theſe ſort of robbers, when either by the troubles of particular times, or the neglect of governments, they are not cruſhed before they gather ſtrength.

It has been the caſe heretofore, that when a ſingle pirate has been ſuffered to range the ſeas, as not being worth the notice of a government, he has by degrees grown ſo powerful, as to put them to the expence of a great deal of blood and treaſure, before he was ſuppreſſed. We ſhall not examine how it came to paſs that our bucaniers in the Weſt-Indies have continually increaſed till of late; this is an enquiry which belongs to the legiſlature.

I ſhall therefore ſpeak of the pirates infeſting the Weſt-Indies, where they are more numerous than in any other parts of the world, on ſeveral reaſons.

Firſt, Becauſe there are ſo many uninhabited little iſlands and keys, with harbours convenient and ſecure for cleaning their veſſels, and abounding with what they often want, proviſion; I mean water, ſea-fowl, turtle, ſhell and other fiſh; where, if they carry in but ſtrong liquor, they indulge a time, and become ready for new expeditions before any intelligence can reach to hurt them.

It may here perhaps be no unneceſſary digreſſion to explain what they call keys in the Weſt-Indies. Theſe are ſmall ſandy iſlands, appearing a little above the ſurface of the water, with only a few buſhes or weeds upon them, but abound (thoſe moſt at any diſtance from the main) with turtle, amphibious animals that always chooſe the quieteſt and moſt unfrequented place for laying their eggs, which are to a vaſt number in the ſeaſons, and would ſeldom be ſeen,

ſeen, but for this (except by pirates). There veſſels from Jamaica and the other governments make voyages, called turtling, for ſupplying the people, a common and approved food with them. I am apt to think theſe keys, eſpecially thoſe nigh iſlands, to have been once contiguous with them, and ſeparated by earthquakes (frequently there) or inundations, becauſe ſome of them that have been within continual view, as thoſe nigh Jamaica, are obſerved within our time to be entirely waſted away and loſt, and others daily waſting. They are not only of the uſe above taken notice of to pirates, but it is commonly believed were always, in bucaniering piratical times, the hiding-places for their riches, and oftentimes a ſhelter for themſelves, till their friends on the main had found means to obtain indemnity for their crimes: for you muſt underſtand, when acts of grace were more frequent, and the laws leſs ſevere, theſe men continually found favours and encouragers at Jamaica, and perhaps they are not all dead yet. I have been told many of them ſtill living have been of the ſame trade, and left it off only becauſe they can live as well honeſtly, and ſafer now at the hazard of others necks.

Secondly, Another reaſon why theſe ſeas are choſe by pirates, is, the great commerce thither by French, Spaniards, Dutch, and eſpecially Engliſh ſhips: they are ſure in the latitude of theſe trading parts to meet with prizes, booties of proviſion, cloth and naval ſtores, and ſometimes money; there being great ſums remitted this way to England (the returns of the aſſiento, and private ſlave-trade to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, and, in ſhort, by ſome one or other, all the riches of Potoſi.

A third reaſon is, the inconveniency and difficulty of being purſued by the men of war; the

many ſmall inlets, lagoons, and harbours, on theſe ſolitary iſlands and keys, is a natural ſecurity.

It is generally here that the pirates begin their enterprizes, ſetting out at firſt with a very ſmall force; and by infeſting theſe ſeas, and thoſe of the continent of North-America, in a year's time, if they have good luck on their ſides, they accumulate ſuch ſtrength as enables them to make foreign expeditions. The firſt is uſually to Guinea, taking the Azores and Cape de Verd iſlands in their way, and then to Brazil and the Eaſt-Indies, where, if they meet with proſperous voyages, they ſet down at Madagaſcar, or the neighbouring iſlands, and enjoy their ill-gotten wealth, among their elder brethren, with impunity. But that I may not give too much encouragement to the profeſſion, I muſt inform my maritime readers, that the far greater part of these rovers are cut ſhort in the purſuit by a ſudden precipitation into the other world.

The riſe of theſe rovers, ſince the peace of Utrecht, or at leaſt the great increaſe of them, may juſtly be imputed to the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies; the governors of which, being often ſome hungry courtiers ſent thither to repair or make a fortune, generally countenance all proceedings that bring in profit: they grant commiſſions to great numbers of veſſels of war, on pretence of preventing an interloping trade, with orders to ſeize all ſhips or veſſels whatſoever within five leagues of their coaſts, which our Engliſh ſhips cannot well avoid coming, in their voyage to Jamaica. But if the Spaniſh captains chance to exceed this commiſſion, and rob and plunder at diſcretion, the ſufferers are allowed to complain, and exhibit a proceſs in their court, and after great expence of ſuit, delay of time, and other inconveniencies, obtain a decree in their favour; but then, when the ſhip

ſhip and cargo comes to be claimed, with coſts of ſuit, they find, to their ſorrow, that it has been previouſly condemned, and the plunder divided among the crew; the commander that made the capture, who alone is reſponſible, is found to be a poor raſcally fellow, not worth a groat, and, no doubt, is placed in that ſtation for the like purpoſes.

The frequent loſſes ſuſtained by our merchants abroad by theſe pirates was provocation enough to attempt ſomething by way of repriſal; and a fair opportunity offering itſelf in the year 1716, the traders to the Weſt-Indies took care not to ſlip it over, but made the beſt uſe of it their circumſtances would permit.

It was about two years before, that the Spaniſh galleons, or plate fleet, had been caſt away in the gulf of Florida, and ſeveral veſſels from the Havanna were at work, with diving engines, to fiſh up the ſilver that was on board the galleons.

The Spaniards had recovered ſome millions of pieces of eight, and had carried it all to the Havanna; but they had at preſent about 350,000 pieces of eight in ſilver, then upon the ſpot, and were daily taking up more. In the mean time, two ſhips and three ſloops, fitted out from Jamaica, Barbadoes, &c. under Captain Henry Jennings, ſailed to the gulf, and found the Spaniards there upon the wreck; the money before ſpoke of was left on ſhore, depoſited in a ſtorehouſe, under the government of two commiſſaries, and a guard of about ſixty ſoldiers.

The rovers came directly upon the place, bringing their little fleet to an anchor, and, in a word, landing 300 men, they attacked the guard, who immediately ran away; and thus they ſeized the

treaſure, which they carried off, making the beſt of their way to Jamaica.

In their way they unhappily met with a Spaniſh ſhip, bound from Porto Bello to the Havanna, with a great many rich goods, viz. bales of cochineal, caſks of indico, and 60,000 pieces of eight more, which, their hands being in, they took; and having rifled the veſſel, let her go.

They went away to Jamaica with their booty, and were followed in view of the port by the Spaniards, who having ſeen them thither, went back to the governor of the Havanna, with the account of it, who immediately ſent a veſſel to the governor of Jamaica, to complain of this robbery, and to reclaim the goods.

As it was in full peace, and contrary to all juſtice and right, that this fact was committed, they were ſoon made ſenſible that the government at Jamaica would not ſuffer them to go unpuniſhed, much leſs protect them: therefore they ſaw a neceſſity of ſhifting for themſelves; ſo, to make bad worſe, they went to ſea again, though not without diſpoſing of their cargo to good advantage, and furniſhing themſelves with ammunition, proviſions, &c. and being thus made deſperate, they turned pirates, robbing not the Spaniards only, but their own countrymen, and any nation they could lay their hands on.

It happened about this time that the Spaniards, with three or four ſmall men of war, fell upon our logwood-cutters in the bay of Campeachy and Honduras, and after they had made them prizes, they gave the men belonging to them three ſloops to carry them home; but theſe men being made deſperate by their misfortunes, and meeting with the pirates, they took on with them, and ſo encreaſed their number.

Not

Not to detain the reader any longer with theſe particulars, I ſhall proceed to give an account of our voyage from Havre de Grace in France, from whence we ſet ſail in a ſhip called St. John, May the 2d, 1666. Our veſſel was equipped with twenty eight guns, twenty mariners, and 220 paſſengers, including thoſe whom the company ſent as free paſſengers. Soon after we came to an anchor under the cape of Barfleur, there to join ſeven other ſhips of the ſame Weſt-India company, which were to come from Dieppe, under convoy of a man of war, mounted with thirty-ſeven guns, and 250 men. Of theſe ſhips two were bound for Senegal, five for the Caribbee iſlands, and ours for Tortuga. Here gathered to us about twenty ſail of other ſhips, bound for Newfoundland, with ſome Dutch veſſels going for Nantz, Rochel, and St. Martin's; ſo that in all we made thirty ſail. Here we put ourſelves in a poſture of defence, having notice that four Engliſh frigates of ſixty guns each waited for us near Alderney. Our admiral, the Chevalier Sourdis, having given neceſſary orders, we ſailed thence with a favourable gale, and ſome miſts ariſing, totally impeded the Engliſh frigates from diſcovering our fleet. We ſteered our courſe as near as we could to the coaſt of France, for fear of the enemy.

As we ſailed along, we met a veſſel of Oſtend, who complained to our admiral, that a French privateer had robbed him that very morning; whereupon we endeavoured to purſue the ſaid pirate; but our labour was in vain, not being able to overtake him.

Our fleet, as we ſailed, cauſed no ſmall fears and alarms to the inhabitants of the coaſt of France, theſe judging us to be Engliſh, and that we ſought ſome convenient place for landing. To allay their fright, we hung out our colours, but they would not truſt us.

After this we came to an anchor in the bay of Conquet in Britany, near Uſhant, there to take in water. Having ſtored ourſelves with freſh proviſions here, we proſecuted our voyage, deſigning to paſs by the Ras of Fontenau, and not expoſe ourſelves to the Sorlingues, fearing the Engliſh that were cruiſing thereabouts. This river Ras is of a current very ſtrong and rapid, which rolling over many rocks, diſgorges itſelf into the ſea on the coaſt of France, in 48 deg. 10 min. latitude; ſo that this paſſage is very dangerous, all the rocks as yet being not thoroughly known.

Here I ſhall mention the ceremony, which, at this paſſage, and ſome other places, is uſed by the mariners, and by them called baptiſm, though it may ſeem little to our purpoſe. The maſter's mate cloathed himſelf with a ridiculous ſort of garment that reached to his feet, and on his head he put a ſuitable cap, made very burleſque; in his right hand he had a naked wooden ſword, and in his left a pot full of ink; his face was horribly blacked with ſoot, and his neck adorned with a collar of many little pieces of wood: thus apparelled, he commanded every one to be called who had never paſſed through that dangerous place before; and then cauſing them to kneel down, he made the ſign of the croſs on their foreheads with ink, and gave every one a ſtroke on the ſhoulders with his wooden ſword: mean while the ſtanders-by caſt a bucket of water upon each man's head, and ſo ended the ceremony: but that done, each of the baptized muſt give a bottle of brandy, placing it nigh the main maſt, without ſpeaking a word, even thoſe who have no ſuch liquor not being excuſed. If the veſſel never paſſed that way before, the captain is obliged to diſtribute ſome wine among the mariners and paſſengers; but as for other gifts which the newly

newly-baptized frequently offer, they are divided among the old ſeamen, and of them they make a banquet among themſelves.

The Hollanders, likewiſe, not only at this paſſage, but alſo at the rocks called Berlingues, nigh the coaſt of Portugal, in 39 deg. 40 min. (being a paſſage very dangerous, eſpecially by night, when, in the dark, the rocks are not diſtinguiſhable, the land being very high) they uſe ſome ſuch ceremony; but their manner of baptizing is very different from that of the French, for he that is to be baptized is faſtened, and hoiſted up thrice at the main-yard's end, as if he were a criminal. If he be hoiſted the fourth time, in the name of the Prince of Orange, or of the captain of the veſſel, his honour is more than ordinary. Thus every one is dipped ſeveral times in the main ocean, but he that is dipped firſt has the honour of being ſaluted with a gun. Such as are not willing to ſail muſt pay twelve pence for ranſom; if he be an officer, two ſhillings; and if a paſſenger, at their own pleaſure. If the ſhip never paſſed that way before, the captain is to give a ſmall rundlet of wine, which if he denies, the mariners may cut off the ſtern of the veſſel. All the profit accruing by this ceremony is kept by the maſter's mate, who, after reaching their port, uſually lays it out in wine, which is drank amongſt the ancient ſeamen. Some ſay this ceremony was inſtituted by the Emperor Charles V. though it is not amongſt his laws. But here I leave theſe fancifulneſs, and return to our voyage.

Having paſſed the Line, we had very good weather till we came to Cape Finis Terræ; here a ſudden tempeſt ſurprized us, and ſeparated our ſhip from the reſt that were in our company. This storm continued eight days, in which time it would move compaſſion to ſee how miſerably the paſſen-

gers were tumbled to and fro on all ſides of the ſhip, inſomuch that the mariners, in the performance of their duty, were compelled to tread upon them. This boiſterous weather being over, we had very favourable gales again, till we came to the tropic of Cancer. This tropic is an imaginary circle, which aſtronomers have invented in the heavens, limiting the progreſs of the ſun towards the north pole: it is placed in the latitude of 23 deg. 30 min. Here we were baptized a ſecond time, as before. The French always perform this ceremony at the tropic of Cancer, as alſo under the tropic of Capricorn. In this part of the world we had very favourable weather, at which we were very glad, becauſe of our great want of water; for that element was ſo ſcarce with us, that we were ſtinted to two half pints a man every day.

About the latitude of Barbadoes we met an Engliſh frigate, or privateer, who firſt began to give us chaſe, but finding herſelf not to exceed us in force, preſently got away: hereupon we purſued her, firing ſeveral guns, eight pounders at her; but at length ſhe eſcaped, and we returned to our courſe. Soon after we came within ſight of Martinico. We were bent to the coaſt of the iſle of St. Peter, but were fruſtrated by a ſtorm which took us hereabouts: hence we reſolved to ſteer to Guadalupe, yet we could not reach this iſland, by reaſon of the ſaid ſtorm; ſo that we directed our courſe to the iſle of Tortuga, being the very ſame land we were bound to. We paſſed along the coaſt of Puerto Rica, which is extremely agreeable and delightful to the ſight, being adorned with beautiful woods, even to the tops of the mountains. Then we diſcovered Hiſpaniola (of which I ſhall give a deſcription) and we coaſted about it till we came to Tortuga, our deſired port. Here we anchored, July 7th,

in

in the ſame year, not having loſt one man in the voyage. We landed the goods that belonged to the Weſt-India Company, and ſoon after the ſhip was ſent to Calde Sac with ſome paſſengers.

CHAP. II.

A Deſcription of Tortuga, and of the fruits and plants there. How the French firſt ſettled there, at two ſeveral times, and forced out the Spaniards. The author twice ſold in the ſaid iſland.

THE iſland of Tortuga is ſituate on the north ſide of Hiſpaniola, in 20 deg. 30 min. latitude; its juſt extent is threeſcore leagues about. The Spaniards, who gave name to this iſland, called it ſo from the ſhape of the land, in ſome manner reſembling a great ſea-tortoiſe, called by them Tortuga-de-mar. The country is very mountainous, and full of rocks, and yet thick of lofty trees, that grow upon the hardeſt of theſe rocks, without partaking of a better ſoil; hence it comes that their roots, for the greateſt part, are often naked, entangled among the rocks like the branching of ivy againſt our walls. That part of this iſland which ſtretches to the north is totally uninhabited: the reaſon is, firſt, becauſe it is incommodious and unhealthy; and ſecondly, for the ruggedneſs of the coaſt, that gives no acceſs to the ſhore, unleſs among rocks, almoſt inacceſſible. For this cauſe it is peopled only on the ſouth part, which hath only one port, indifferently good: yet this harbour has two entries or channels, which afford paſſage to ſhips of 70 guns; the port itſelf being without danger, and capable of receiving a great number of veſſels. The inhabited parts, of which the firſt is called the Low Lands, or Low Country; this is the chief among

the reſt, becauſe it contains the port aforeſaid: the town is called Cayona, and here live the chiefeſt and richeſt planters of the iſland. The ſecond part is called the Middle Plantation; its ſoil is yet almoſt new, being only known to be good for tobacco. The third is named Ringot, and is ſituate towards the weſt part of the iſland. The fourth, and laſt, is called the Mountain, in which place were made the firſt plantations upon this iſland.

As to the wood that grows here, we have already ſaid, that the trees are exceeding tall, and pleaſing to the ſight; whence no man will doubt but they may be applied to ſeveral uſes: ſuch is the Yellow Saunder, which by the inhabitants is called Bois de Chandel, or, in Engliſh, Candle-wood, becauſe it burns like a candle, and ſerves them with light while they fiſh by night. Here grows, alſo, *Lignum Sanctum*, or Guaiacum: its virtues are very well known, more eſpecially to thoſe who obſerve not the ſeventh commandment, and are given to impure copulations; phyſicians drawing hence, in ſeveral compoſitions, the greateſt antidote for venereal diſeaſes, as alſo for cold and viſcous humours. The trees, likewiſe, which afford Gummi Elemi, grow here in great abundance, as doth Radix China, or *China-root*; yet this is not ſo good as that of other parts of the weſtern world. It is very white and ſoft, and ſerves for pleaſant food to the wild boars, when they can find nothing elſe. This iſland, alſo, is not deficient in Aloes, nor an infinite number of the other medicinal herbs, which may pleaſe the curioſity of ſuch as are given to their contemplation: moreover, for building of ſhips, or any other ſort of architecture, here are found ſeveral ſorts of timber. The fruits, likewiſe, which grow here abundantly, are nothing inferior, in quantity or quality, to what other iſlands produce. I ſhall name

name only ſome of the moſt ordinary and common; ſuch are Magniot, Potatoes, Abajou apples, Yannas, Bacones, Paquays, Caroſoles, Mamayns, Annanaes, and divers other ſorts, which I omit to ſpecify. Here grow, likewiſe, in great numbers, thoſe trees called Palmitoes, or Palmites, whence is drawn a certain juice, which ſerves the inhabitants inſtead of wine, and whoſe leaves cover their houſes inſtead of tiles.

In this iſland aboundeth, alſo, the wild boar: the governor hath prohibited the hunting of them with dogs, fearing leſt the iſland being but ſmall, the whole race of them, in a ſhort time, ſhould be deſtroyed. The reaſon why he thought convenient to preſerve theſe wild beaſts, was, that in caſe of any invaſion, the inhabitants might ſuſtain themſelves with their food, eſpecially were they once conſtrained to retire to the woods and mountains. Yet this ſort of game is almoſt impeded by itſelf by reaſon of the many rocks and precipices, which for the greateſt part, are covered with little ſhrubs very green and thick; whence the huntſmen are oftentimes fallen, and left us the ſad remembrance of many a memorable diſaſter.

At a certain time of the year there reſort to Tortuga large flocks of wild pigeons, and then the inhabitants feed on them very plentifully, having more than they can conſume, and leaving totally to their repoſe all other ſorts of fowl, both wild and tame, that ſo, in the abſence of the pigeons, theſe may ſupply their place. But as nothing in the univerſe, though never ſo pleaſant, can be found, but which hath ſomething of bitterneſs with it, the very ſymbol of this truth we ſee in the aforeſaid pigeons; for theſe, the ſeaſon being paſt, can ſcarce be touched with the tongue, they become ſo extremely lean, and bitter even to admiration: the reaſon

of

of this bitterneſs is attributed to a certain ſeed which they eat about that time, even as bitter as gall. About the ſea-ſhores, every where, are found great multitudes of crabs, both of land and ſea, and both ſorts very big. Theſe are good to feed ſervants and ſlaves, whoſe palates they pleaſe, but are very hurtful to the ſight: beſides, being eaten too often, they cauſe great giddineſs in the head, with much weakneſs of the brain; ſo that very frequently they are deprived of ſight for a quarter of an hour.

The French having ſettled in the iſle of St. Chriſtopher, planted there a ſort of trees, of which, at preſent, there poſſibly may be greater quantities; with the timber whereof they made long-boats and boys, which they ſent thence weſtward, well manned and victualled, to diſcover other iſlands. Theſe ſetting ſail from St. Chriſtopher, came within ſight of Hiſpaniola, where they arrived with abundance of joy. Having landed, they marched into the country, where they found large quantities of cattle, ſuch as cows, bulls, horſes, and wild boars; but finding no great profit in theſe animals, unleſs they could incloſe them, and knowing, likewiſe, the iſland to be pretty well peopled by the Spaniards, they thought it convenient to enter upon and ſeize the iſland of Tortuga. This they performed without any difficulty, there being upon the iſland no more than ten or twelve Spaniards to guard it. Theſe few men let the French come in peaceably, and poſſeſs the iſland for ſix months, without any trouble. Mean while they paſſed and repaſſed with their canoes, to Hiſpaniola, from whence they tranſported many people, and at laſt began to plant the whole iſland of Tortuga. The few Spaniards remaining there, perceiving the French to increaſe their number daily, began at laſt to repine at their proſperity, and grudge them the poſſeſſion: hence

they

they gave notice to others of their nation, their neighbours, who ſent ſeveral boats well armed and manned to diſpoſſeſs the French. This expedition ſucceeded according to their deſires; for the new poſſeſſors ſeeing the great number of Spaniards, fled with all they had to the woods, and hence, by night, they wafted over with canoes to the iſland of Hiſpaniola: this they the more eaſily performed, having no women or children with them, nor any great ſubſtance to carry away. Here they alſo retire into the woods, both to ſeek for food, and from thence with ſecreſy, to give intelligence to others of their own faction; judging for certain that within a little while they ſhould be in a capacity to hinder the Spaniards from fortifying in Tortuga.

Mean while the Spaniards of the great iſland ceaſed not to ſeek after their new gueſts, the French, with intent to root them out of the woods [illegible] or cauſe them to periſh with hunger; but this deſign ſoon failed, having found that the French were maſters both of good guns, powder, and bullets. Here therefore, the fugitives waited for a [illegible] tunity, wherein they knew the Spaniards were to come from Tortuga with arms, and a great number of men, to join with thoſe of the greater iſland for their deſtruction: when this occaſion offered, they, in the mean while, deſerting the woods where they were, returned to Tortuga, and diſpoſſeſſed the ſmall number of Spaniards that remained at home. Having ſo done, they fortified themſelves the beſt they could, thereby to prevent the return of the Spaniards, in caſe they ſhould attempt it. Moreover, they ſent immediately to the governor of St. Chriſtopher's, craving his aid and relief, and demanding of him a governor, the better to be united among themſelves, and ſtrengthened on all occaſions. The governor of St. Chriſtopher's received their petition with

with much ſatisfaction, and, without delay, ſent monſieur le Paſſeur to them in quality of a governor, together with a ſhip full of men, and all neceſſaries for their eſtabliſhment and defence. No ſooner had they received this recruit, but the governor commanded a fortreſs to be built upon the top of a high rock, from whence he could hinder the entrance of any ſhips, or other veſſels, to the port. To this fort no other acceſs could be had, than by climbing through a very narrow paſſage, that was capable only of receiving two perſons at once, and thoſe not without difficulty. In the middle of this rock was a great cavity, which now ſerves for a ſtore-houſe; beſides here was great convenience for raiſing a batterry. The fort being finiſhed, the governor commanded two guns to be mounted, which could not be done without great toil and labour; as alſo, a houſe to be built within the fort, and afterwards the narrow way, that led to the ſaid fort, to be broken and demoliſhed, leaving no other aſcent thereto than by a ladder. Within the fort guſhes out a plentiful fountain of pure freſh water, ſufficient to refreſh a garriſon of a thouſand men. Being poſſeſſed of theſe conveniences, and the ſecurity theſe things might promiſe, the French began to people the iſland, and each of them to ſeek their living ſome by hunting, others by planting tobacco, and others by cruizing and robbing on the coaſts of the Spaniſh iſlands; which trade is continued by them to this day.

The Spaniards, notwithſtanding, could not behold, but with jealous eyes, the daily increaſe of the French in Tortuga, fearing leſt in time they might by them be diſpoſſeſſed alſo of Hiſpaniola. Thus taking an opportunity when many of the French were abroad at ſea, and others employed in hunting, with eight hundred men, in ſeveral canoes, they

they landed again in Tortuga, almoſt without being perceived by the French; but finding that the governor had cut down many trees for the better diſcovery of any enemy, in caſe of an aſſault, as alſo that nothing of conſequence could be done without great guns, they conſulted about the fitteſt place for raiſing a battery: this place was ſoon concluded to be the top of a mountain which was in ſight, ſeeing that from thence alone they could level their guns at the fort, which now lay open to them, ſince the cutting down of the trees by the new poſſeſſors. Hence they reſolved to open a way for the carriage of ſome pieces of ordnance to the top. This mountain is ſomewhat high, and the upper part thereof plain, from whence the whole iſland may be viewed: the ſides thereof are very rugged, by reaſon a great number of inacceſſible rocks do ſurround it; ſo that the aſcent was very difficult, and would always have been the ſame, had not the Spaniards undergone the immenſe labour and toil of making the way before-mentioned, as I ſhall now relate.

The Spaniards had with them many ſlaves and Indians, labouring men, whom they call Matades, or, in Engliſh, Half yellow Men; theſe they ordered with iron tools to dig a way through the rocks. This they performed with the greateſt ſpeed imaginable: and through this way, by the help of many ropes and pullies, they at laſt made ſhift to get up two pieces of ordnance, wherewith they made a battery next day, to play on the fort. Mean while the French, knowing theſe deſigns, prepared for defence (while the Spaniards were buſy about the battery) ſending notice every where to their companions for help. Thus the hunters of the iſland aſſembled together, and with them all the pirates who were not already too far from home: theſe landed by night at Tortuga, leſt they ſhould be ſeen by the Spaniards; and under the ſame obſcurity of the

the night, they all together, by a back way, climbed the mountain where the Spaniards were poſted, which they did the more eaſily, being acquainted with theſe rocks. They came up at the very inſtant that the Spaniards, who were above, were preparing to ſhoot at the fort, not knowing in the leaſt of their coming. Here they ſet upon them at their backs, with ſuch fury, as forced the greateſt part to precipitate themſelves from the top to the bottom, and daſh their bodies in pieces: few or none eſcaped; for if any remained alive they were put to the ſword. Some Spaniards did ſtill keep the bottom of the mountain; but theſe hearing the ſhrieks and cries of them that were killed, and believing ſome tragical revolution to be above, fled immediately towards the ſea, deſpairing ever to regain the iſland of Tortuga.

The governors of this iſland behaved themſelves as proprietors and abſolute lords thereof, till 1664, when the Weſt-India company of France took poſſeſſion thereof, and ſent thither for their governor, monſieur Oggeron. Theſe planted the colony for themſelves by their factors and ſervants, thinking to drive ſome conſiderable trade from thence with the Spaniards, even as the Hollanders do from Curaçao; but this deſign did not anſwer: for with other nations they could drive no trade, by reaſon they could not eſtabliſh any ſecure commmerce from the beginning with their own; foraſmuch as at the firſt inſtitution of this company in France, they agreed with the pirates, hunters, and planters, firſt poſſeſſors of Tortuga, that theſe ſhould buy all their neceſſaries from the ſaid company upon truſt. And though this agreement was put in execution, yet the factor of the company ſoon after found that they could not recover either monies or returns from thoſe people, that they were conſtrained to bring

bring ſome armed men into the iſland, in behalf of the company, to get in ſome of their payments: but neither this endeavour, nor any other, could prevail towards the ſettling a ſecond trade with thoſe of the iſland. Hereupon the company recalled their factors, giving them orders to ſell all that was their own in the ſaid plantation, both the ſervants belonging to the company (which were ſold ſome for twenty, others for thirty pieces of eight) as alſo all other merchandizes and proprieties. And thus all their deſigns fell to the ground.

On this occaſion I was alſo ſold, being a ſervant under the ſaid company, in whoſe ſervice I left France: but my fortune was very bad, for I fell into the hands of the moſt cruel and perfidious man that ever was born, who was then governor, or rather lieutenant-general of that iſland. This man treated me with all the hard uſage imaginable, yea, with that of hunger, with which I thought I ſhould have periſhed inevitably: withal, he was willing to let me buy my freedom and liberty, but not under the rate of 300 pieces of eight; I not being maſter of one at a time in the world. At laſt, through the manifold miſeries I endured, as alſo affliction of mind, I was thrown into a dangerous ſickneſs. This misfortune, added to the reſt, was the cauſe of my happineſs; for my wicked maſter, ſeeing my condition, began to fear leſt he ſhould loſe his [illegible]; hereupon he ſold me a ſecond [illegible] for twenty pieces of eight. Be[illegible] this ſecond maſter, I began ſoon to recover [illegible], through the good uſage I received, he [illegible] much more humane and civil than my firſt [illegible]. He gave me both clothes and very good [illegible], and after I had ſerved him but one year, he [illegible] me my liberty, with only this condition, that I ſhould pay him 100 pieces of eight, when I

was

was in a capacity ſo to do. Which kind propoſal of his I could not but accept with infinite joy and gratitude.

Being now at liberty, though like Adam when he was firſt created, that is, naked and deſtitute of all human neceſſaries, not knowing how to get my living, I determined to enter into the order of the pirates or robbers at ſea: into this ſociety I was received with common conſent, both of the ſuperior and vulgar ſort, where I continued till 1672. Having aſſiſted them in all their deſigns and attempts, and ſerved them in many notable exploits, of which hereafter I ſhall give the reader a true account, I returned to my own native country. But before I begin my relation, I ſhall ſay ſomething of the iſland Hiſpaniola, which lies towards the weſtern part of America, as alſo give my reader a brief deſcription thereof, according to my ſlender ability and experience.

CHAP. III.

A deſcription of Hiſpaniola.

THE large and rich iſland called Hiſpaniola is ſituate from 17 degrees to 19 degrees latitude; the circumference is 300 leagues; the extent from eaſt to weſt 120; its breath almoſt 50, being broader or narrower at certain places. This iſland was firſt diſcovered by Chriſtopher Columbus, anno 1492; he being ſent for this purpoſe by Ferdinand king of Spain; from which time to this preſent, the Spaniards have been continually poſſeſſors thereof. There are upon this iſland very good and ſtrong cities, towns, and hamlets, as well as a great number of pleaſant country-houſes and plantations, the effects of the care and induſtry of the Spaniards, its inhabitants.

The

The chief city and metropolis hereof is Santo Domingo; being dedicated to St. Dominick, from whom it derives its name: it is ſituate towards the ſouth, and affords a moſt excellent proſpect; the country round about being embelliſhed with innumerable rich plantations, as alſo verdant meadows and fruitful gardens; all which produce plenty and variety of excellent pleaſant fruits, according to the nature of thoſe countries. The governor of the iſland reſides in this city, which is, as it were, the ſtorehouſe of all the cities, towns, and villages, which hence export and provide themſelves with all neceſſaries for human life, and yet hath it this particularity above many other cities, that it entertains no commerce with any nation but its own, the Spaniards. The greateſt part of the inhabitants are rich and ſubſtantial merchants or ſhopkeepers.

Another city of this iſland is San Jago or St. James, being conſecrated to that apoſtle. This is an open place without walls or caſtle, ſituate in 19 degrees latitude. The inhabitants are generally hunters and planters, the adjacent territory and ſoil being very proper for the ſaid exerciſes; the city is ſurrounded with large and delicious fields, as much pleaſing to the view as thoſe of Santo Domingo; and theſe abound with beaſts both wild and tame, yielding vaſt numbers of ſkins and hides, very profitable to the owners.

In the ſouth part of this iſland is another city, called Nuestra Senora de Alta Gracia. This territory produces great quantities of Cacao, whereof the inhabitants make great ſtore of the richeſt chocolate: here grows alſo ginger and tobacco, and our tallow is made of the beaſts which are hereabouts hunted.

The inhabitants of this beautiful iſland of Hiſpaniola often reſort in their canoes to the iſle of Savona,

Savona, not far diſtant, where is their chief fiſhery, eſpecially of tortoiſes. Hither thoſe fiſh conſtantly reſort in great multitudes at certain ſeaſons, there to lay their eggs, burying them in the ſands of the ſhole, where by the heat of the ſun, which in thoſe parts is very ardent, they are hatched. This iſland of Savona has little or nothing that is worthy conſideration, being ſo very barren by reaſon of its ſandy ſoil. True it is, that here grows ſome ſmall quantity of Lignum ſanctum, or Guaiacum, of whoſe uſe we ſay ſomething in another place.

Weſtward of Santo Domingo is another great village called El Pueblo de Aſo, or the town of Aſo; the inhabitants thereof drive great traffick with thoſe of another village, in the very middle of the iſland, and is called San Juan de Goave, or St. John of Goave. This is invironed with a magnificent proſpect of gardens, woods, and meadows. Its territory extends above twenty leagues in length, and grazes a great number of wild bulls and cows: in this village ſcarce dwell any others than hunters and butchers, who flay the beaſts that are killed. Theſe are for the moſt part a mungrel ſort of people; ſome of which are born of white European people and negroes, and called Mulatos: others of Indians and white people, and termed Meſticos: but others come of negroes and Indians, and are called Alcatraces: beſides which ſorts of people there are ſeveral other ſpecies and races, both here and in other places of the Weſt-Indies, of whom this account may be given, that the Spaniards love better the negro women in thoſe weſtern parts, or the tawny Indian females, than their own white European race; when as, peradventure, the negroes and Indians have greater inclinations to the white women, or thoſe that come near them, the tawny, than their

their own. From the ſaid villages are exported yearly vaſt quantities of tallow and hides, they exerciſing no other traffick: for as to the lands in this place, they are not cultivated, by reaſon of the exceſſive drineſs of the ſoil. Theſe are the chiefeſt places that the Spaniards poſſeſs in this iſland, from the cape of Lobos towards St. John de Goave, unto the cape of Samana nigh the ſea, on the north ſide, and from the eaſtern part towards the ſea, called Punta de Eſpada. All the reſt of the iſland is poſſeſſed by the French, who are alſo planters and hunters.

This iſland hath very good ports for ſhips from the cape of Lobos to the cape of Tiburon, on the weſt ſide thereof. In this ſpace there are no leſs than four ports, exceeding in goodneſs, largeneſs, and ſecurity, even the very beſt of England. Beſides theſe, from the cape of Tiburon to the cape of Donna Maria, there are two very excellent ports, and from this cape to the cape of St. Nicholas, there are no leſs than twelve others. Every one of theſe ports hath alſo the confluence of two or three good rivers, in which are great plenty of ſeveral ſorts of fiſh very pleaſing to the palate. The country hereabouts is well watered with large and deep rivers and brooks, ſo that this part of the land may eaſily be cultivated without any great fear of droughts, becauſe of theſe excellent ſtreams. The ſea-coaſts and ſhores are alſo very pleaſant, to which the tortoiſes reſort in large numbers to lay their eggs. This iſland was formerly very well peopled on the north ſide, with many towns and villages; but theſe being ruined by the Hollanders were at laſt, for the greateſt part, deſerted by the

CHAP.

CHAP IV.

Of the fruits, trees, and animals of Hiſpaniola

THE ſpacious fields of this iſland commonly are five or ſix leagues in length, the beauty whereof is ſo pleaſing to the eye, that, together with the great variety of their natural productions, they captivate the ſenſes of the beholder. For here at once, they not only with diverſity of objects recreate the ſight, but with many of the ſame do alſo pleaſe the ſmell, and with moſt contribute delights to the taſte; alſo they flatter and excite the appetite eſpecially with the multitudes of oranges and lemons here growing, both ſweet and ſour, and thoſe that participate of both taſtes, and are only pleaſantly tartiſh. Beſides, here abundantly grow ſeveral ſorts of fruit, ſuch are Citrons, Toronjas, and Limas; in Engliſh not improperly called crab-lemons. True it is that the lemons exceed not here the bigneſs of an hen's egg, which ſmallneſs diſtinguiſhes them from thoſe of Spain moſt frequently uſed in theſe our northern countries. The date-trees, which here cover very ſpacious plains, are exceeding tall; which notwithſtanding doth not offend but delight the view. Their height is from 150 to 200 feet, being deſtitute of branches to the very top: within it is a certain pleaſant white ſubſtance like that of white cabbage, whence the branches and leaves ſprout, in which the ſeeds or dates are contained. Every month one of thoſe branches falls, and at the ſame time another ſprouts out; but the ſeed ripens not but once a year. The dates are food extremely coveted by the hedge-hog; the white ſubſtance at the top of the tree is uſed by the Spaniards as cabbage in Europe, they cutting it in ſlices, and boiling it in their ollas with all ſorts of meat.

meat. The leaves of this date-tree are ſeven or eight feet long, and three or four broad, being very fit to cover houſes; for they defend from rain equally with the beſt tiles, though never ſo rudely huddled together: they uſe them alſo to wrap up ſmoked fleſh, and to make buckets to carry water in, though not durable for above ſix, ſeven, or eight days. Theſe cabbages, for ſo we ſhall call them, are greeniſh on the outſide, though inwardly very white, whence may be ſeparated a rind very like to parchment, being fit to write on as we do on paper. The bodies of theſe trees are of a huge thickneſs, which two men can hardly compaſs with their arms, and yet they cannot properly be termed woody, but only three or four inches deep in thickneſs, all the reſt of the internal part being very ſoft; ſo that paring off thoſe three or four inches of woody ſubſtance, the remaining part may be ſliced like new cheeſe: they wound them three or four feet above the root, and making an inciſion in the body, from thence gently diſtils a liquor, which in a ſhort time fermenting becomes as ſtrong as the richeſt wine, and which eaſily intoxicates, if not uſed with moderation. The French call theſe palm-trees Frank-Palms, and they only grow here or elſewhere in ſaltiſh ground.

Beſides theſe palm-trees which we have mentioned, there are in Hiſpaniola four other ſpecies of palms, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Latanier, Palma Eſpinoſa, or prickle-palm, Palma a Chapelet, or Roſary Palm. The latanier palm is not ſo tall as the wine-palm, but almoſt of the ſame ſhape, only the leaves are like the fans our women uſe: they grow moſtly in gravelly and ſandy ground, their circumference being of ſeven feet more or leſs. The body hath many prickles or thorns, half a foot long, very ſharp and pungent. It produces its ſeed like as that above-

mentioned, which ſerves for food to the wild beaſts.

The prickle-palm, ſo called, becauſe it is infinitely full of prickles from the root to the very leaves, much more than the precedent. With theſe prickles the barbarous Indians uſe to torment the priſoners they take in battle: they tie them to a tree, then taking theſe thorns, they put them into little pellets of cotton dipt in oil, and ſtick them into the ſides of the miſerable priſoners as thick as the briſtles of a hedgehog, which cauſe an incredible torment to the patient; then they ſet them on fire, and if the tormented priſoner ſing in the midſt of of his torments he is eſteemed a courageous ſoldier, who neither fears his enemies nor their torments; but if, on the contrary, he cries out, they eſteem him a coward, and unworthy of any memory. This cuſtom was told me by an Indian, who ſaid he had uſed his enemies thus oftentimes. The like cruelties to theſe many Chriſtians have ſeen while they lived among thoſe barbarians. But returning to the prickle-palm, I ſhall only tell you, that this palm-tree in this only differs from the latanier, that the leaves are like thoſe of the frank palm; its ſeed is like that of the other palm-trees, being only much bigger and rounder, and full of little kernels, as pleaſing to the taſte as our walnuts in Europe. This tree grows for the moſt part in the marſhes and low grounds of the ſea-coaſt.

The wine-palm is [illegible] called from the abundance of wine gathered fro[illegible] This palm grows in high and rocky mount[illegible] not exceeding the height of forty or fifty feet, but yet of an extraordinary ſhape or form: for, [illegible] from the root up half [illegible] it is only three or four inches thick, but upwards ſomething above two-thirds of its height; it is as big and as thick as an ordinary bucket or milk-pail; within it is full of a certain matter, very much

much like the tender ſtalk of a white cabbage, which is very juicy of a liquor very pleaſing to the palate. This liquor after fermentation, and ſettling of the grounds, becomes very good and clear wine, without any great pains; for having wounded the the tree with a hatchet, they make a ſquare inciſion or orifice in it, through which they bruiſe the ſaid matter, till it may be ſqueezed out, or expreſſed with the hands, they needing no other inſtrument. With the leaves they make veſſels, not only to ſettle and purify the ſaid liquor, but alſo to drink it. It bears its fruit like to other palms, but very ſmall, being like cherries: the taſte is very good, but dangerous to the throat, cauſing extreme pains, which produce malignant quinſies.

The Palm a Chapelet, or Roſary Palm, ſo called by the French and Spaniards, becauſe its ſeed is very fit to make roſaries or beads to ſay prayers upon, they being ſmall, hard, and eaſily bored. This fourth ſpecies grows on the tops of the higheſt mountains, and is of an exceſſive tallneſs, very ſtraight, and hath very few leaves.

Here grows alſo a certain ſort of Apricot-trees, whoſe fruit equals in bigneſs that of our ordinary melons: the colour is like aſhes, and the taſte the very ſame with that of ours in Europe; the ſtones of this fruit are as big as a hen's egg. On theſe the wild boars feed very deliciouſly, and fatten to admiration.

The trees called Carenias are very like to our peach-trees, whoſe fruit reſemble our damaſcene plums, or prunes of Europe, being of a very pleaſant and agreeable taſte: this fruit is black on the outſide, and the kernels thereof, ſometimes only two, ſometimes three or four, as big as a lupine. This plum affords no leſs pleaſant food to the wild

boars than the apricots above-mentioned, only it is not ſo commonly found, nor in ſuch quantities.

The Genipa-trees are all over this iſland, being like our cherry-trees, though the branches are more dilated: the fruit thereof is aſh-coloured, as big as two fiſts, which is full of many prickles or points, involved under a thin membrane or ſkin, which, if not taken away at the time of eating, cauſes great obſtructions and gripings of the belly. Before this fruit grows ripe, if preſſed, it affords a juice as black as ink, being fit to write withal; but the letters diſappear within nine days, the paper remaining as white as if it never had been written on. The wood of this tree is very ſtrong, ſolid, and hard, good to build ſhips, ſeeing it laſts many years in the water without putrefaction.

Beſides theſe, divers other ſorts of trees are natives of this iſland, producing very excellent and pleaſant fruits. Of theſe I ſhall omit to name ſeveral, knowing there are learned authors who have deſcribed and ſearched them with greater attention and curioſity; but I ſhall mention ſome few more in particular: ſuch are the cedars, which this part of the world produces in prodigious quantities: the French call them Acajou, and they find them uſeful for building ſhips and canoes. Theſe canoes are like little wherry-boats, being made of only one tree, hollowed, and fitted for the ſea: they are ſo ſwift, that they may be well called Neptune's poſt-horſes. The Indians make theſe canoes without any iron inſtruments, by only burning the trees nigh the root, and then ſo governing the fire, as nothing is burnt more than what they would have. Some have hatchets of flint, with which they ſcrape or pare off whatſoever was burnt too far; and thus by fire only they give them that ſhape which ren-

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ders them capable of navigating 60 or 80 leagues with ordinary ſecurity.

As to medicinal productions, here is to be found the tree that affords the Gum Elemi uſed in our apothecaries ſhops; likewiſe Guaiacum, or Lignum Sanctum, Lignum Aloes, Aloe Wood, Caſſia Lignea, China Roots, with ſeveral others. The tree Mapou, beſides that it is medicinal, is alſo uſed for making canoes, being very thick; yet it is much inferior to the Acajou, or Cedar, being ſomewhat ſpongy, ſucking in much water, which renders it dangerous in navigation. The tree called Acoma hath its wood very hard and heavy, and of the colour of palm, which renders it very fit to make oars for the ſugar-mills. Here are alſo, in great quantities, Brafilete, or Braſil wood, and that which the Spaniards call Manchanilla.

Braſil wood is now very well known in Holland and the Low Countries; it is called alſo by the Spaniards, Leena de Peje palo; it ſerves only, or chiefly, for the trade of dyers: it grows abundantly along the ſea-coaſts, eſpecially in two places, called Jacmel and Jaquima. Theſe are two commodious ports or bays, capable of receiving ſhips of the greateſt bulk.

The tree called Manchanilla, or Dwarf-apple-tree, grows near the ſea-ſhore, being naturally ſo low, that its branches, though never ſo ſhort, always touch the water: it bears a fruit ſomewhat like a ſweet-ſcented apple, which yet is of a very venomous quality; for theſe apples being eaten by any perſon, he inſtantly changes colour, and ſuch a thirſt ſeizes him, as all the water of the Thames cannot quench, he dying raving mad within a little while. But what is more ſtrange, the fiſh that eat, as it often happens, of this fruit, are alſo poiſonous. This tree affords a liquor thick and white,

like the fig-tree, which, if touched by the hand, raiſes bliſters, and theſe are as red as if it had been ſcalded. One day, being hugely tormented with moſquitos or gnats, and being as yet unacquainted with the nature of this tree, I cut a branch to ſerve me for a fan, but all my face was ſwelled the next day, and filled with bliſters, as if it were burnt, to ſuch a degree, that I was blind for three days.

Yaco is another ſort of tree, ſo called by the Spaniards, growing by the river ſides. This bears a fruit like our bullace or damſon-plums, which, when ripe, is extremely coveted by the wild boars, with which they fatten as much as our hogs do with the ſweeteſt acorns of Spain. Theſe trees love a ſandy ground, yet are ſo low, that their branches being very large, they take up a great circumference, almoſt couching on the ground. The trees named Abelcoſes bear fruit of like colour with the Yacoes above-mentioned, of the bigneſs of melons, the ſeeds or kernels being as big as eggs. The ſubſtance of this fruit is yellow, and of a pleaſant taſte, which the people among the French eat inſtead of bread, the wild boars not caring at all for it. Theſe trees grow very tall and thick, being ſomewhat like our largeſt pear-trees.

As to the inſects of this iſland, I ſhall only remark three ſorts of flies, which exceſſively torment all human bodies, but eſpecially ſuch as were never or but little acquainted with theſe countries. The firſt ſort are as big as our common horſe-flies in Europe, and theſe darting themſelves upon mens bodies, there ſtick, and ſuck their blood, till they can fly no longer. Their importunity obliges to make almoſt continual uſe of branches of trees to fan them away. The Spaniards in thoſe parts call them Moſquitos or gnats; but the French call them

them Maranguines. The ſecond ſort is no bigger than a grain of ſand; theſe make no buzzing noiſe, as the preceding ſpecies do, ſo are leſs avoidable, being able alſo, through their ſmallneſs, to penetrate the fineſt linen or cloth. The hunters are forced to anoint their faces with hog's greaſe, to defend themſelves from their ſtings; by night, in their huts or cottages, they conſtantly burn the leaves of tobacco, without which ſmoke they could not reſt. True it is, in the day-time they are not very troubleſome, in caſe any wind be ſtirring, for this, though never ſo little, diſſipates them. The gnats of the third ſpecies exceed not the bigneſs of a grain of muſtard; their colour is red; theſe ſting not at all, but bite ſo ſharply, as to create little ulcers; whence it often happens that the face ſwells, and is rendered frightful to the view. Theſe are chiefly troubleſome by day, even from morning till ſun-ſet, after which they take their reſt, and permit human bodies to do ſo. The Spaniards call theſe Rojados, and the French Calarodes.

The inſects which the Spaniards call Cochinillas, and the Engliſh glow-worms, are alſo to be found here. Theſe are very much like thoſe of Europe, but ſomewhat bigger, and longer: they have two little ſpecks on their heads, which by night give ſo much light, that three or four of them together upon a tree ſeem at a diſtance like a bright ſhining fire. I had once three of theſe Cochinillas in my cottage, which continued there till paſt midnight, ſhining ſo brightly, that without any other light, I could eaſily read in any book, of never ſo ſmall a print. I attempted to bring ſome of them to Europe, but as ſoon as they came into a colder climate they died: they loſt alſo their ſhining, upon the change of air, before their deaths. This ſhining

is ſo great, that the Spaniards, with great reaſon, call them Moſcas de fuego, that is, Fire-flies.

There are alſo in Hiſpaniola a great number of Grillones, or crickets: theſe are of an extraordinary magnitude, if compared to ours, and ſo noiſy, that they are ready to burſt themſelves with ſinging, if any perſon comes near them. Here is not a leſs number of reptiles, as ſerpents, &c. but by a particular providence of the Creator, theſe have no poiſon, neither do they any other harm than catch fowls, but more eſpecially pullets, pigeons, and the like. Oftentimes theſe ſerpents or ſnakes are uſeful in houſes, to clear them of rats and mice; for with great cunning they counterfeit their ſhrieks, and hereby deceive and catch them at their pleaſure: having taken them, they only ſuck their blood at firſt, then throwing away the guts, they ſwallow almoſt entire the reſt of the body, which they readily digeſt into ſoft excrements. Another ſort of reptiles of this iſland is called Cazadores de Moſcas, or Fly-catchers. This name was given to this reptile by the Spaniards, by reaſon they never could experiment that it lived upon any other food than flies. Hence it cannot be ſaid that this creature cauſes any harm to the inhabitants, but rather benefit, ſeeing it conſumes the vexatious and troubleſome flies.

Here are alſo many land-tortoiſes; theſe breed moſtly in mud, and fields overflowed with water. The inhabitants eat them as very good food. But here are a ſort of very hideous ſpiders; theſe are as big as an ordinary egg, and their feet as long as thoſe of the biggeſt ſea-crabs: they are very hairy withal, and have four black teeth, like a rabbit's both in bigneſs and ſhape; but their bitings are not venomous, though they can bite very ſharp, and do very commonly. They breed moſtly in the roofs of

of houſes. In this iſland alſo is the inſect called in Latin Millepes, and in Greek Scolopendria, Many-feet; and likewiſe Scorpions: yet by the providence of nature, neither the one nor the other are poiſonous; for though they often bite, yet the wounds require not any medicament for their cure; and though their bitings cauſe ſome inflammation and ſwelling at firſt, yet theſe ſymptoms diſappear of their own accord. Thus in Hiſpaniola no venomous animal is found.

After the inſects, I ſhall ſay ſomething of that terrible beaſt called Cayman: this is a ſpecies of the crocodile, wherewith this iſland abounds. Among theſe Caymans, ſome are found to be very large, and horrible to the ſight; ſome have been ſeen no leſs than ſeventy feet long, and twelve broad; yet more marvellous than their bulk is their cunning and ſubtlety: being hungry, they place themſelves nigh the ſides of rivers, eſpecially at the fords where cattle come to drink, or wade over; here they lie without any motion, reſembling an old tree fallen into the river, floating upon the waters; yet they go not far from the banks, but continually lurch in the ſame place, till ſome wild boar or cow come to drink, or refreſh themſelves; and then, with great activity, they ſeize on them with no leſs fierceneſs, and dragging the prey into the water, ſtifle it: but what is more admirable, is, that three or four days before the Caymans go upon this deſign, they eat nothing at all, but diving into the river, they ſwallow a hundred weight or two of ſtones; with theſe they render themſelves heavier than before, and add to their natural ſtrength (which is very great) thereby to make their aſſault the more terrible and ſecure. The prey thus ſtifled, they let it lie four or five days under water untouched, for they cannot eat the leaſt bit unleſs it is h t

rotten; but when it is ſo much putrefied as is moſt pleaſing to their palates, they devour it with great appetite and voracity. If they can light on any hides of beaſts, placed by the inhabitants in the fields for drying, they drag them into the water, leaving them for ſome days, well loaded with ſtones, till the hair falls off; then they eat them with no leſs appetite than they would the animals themſelves. I have ſeen myſelf, many times, like things to theſe I write: but beſide my own experience, many writers of natural things have made entire treatiſes of theſe animals, deſcribing their ſhape, magnitude, voracity, and other qualities. A certain perſon of good credit told me, that one day he was by a river ſide waſhing his baraca, or tent: as ſoon as he began his work, a Cayman faſtened upon the tent, and dragged it under water: the man, deſirous to ſave his tent, pulled, on the contrary, with all his ſtrength, having in his mouth a butcher's knife (with which, as it happened, he was ſcraping the canvas) to defend himſelf, in caſe of neceſſity. The Cayman, angry at this, vaulted upon him out of the river, and drew him with great celerity into the water, endeavouring with his weight to ſtifle him. He finding himſelf in the greateſt extremity, almoſt cruſhed to death by that huge animal, with his knife he gave the Cayman ſeveral wounds in the belly, with which he ſuddenly expired. Being thus delivered from danger, he drew the Cayman out of the water, and opened the body, to ſatisfy his curioſity: in his ſtomach he found near a hundred weight of ſtones, each ſtone being almoſt as big as his fiſt.

The Caymans are ordinarily buſied in catching flies, which they eagerly devour: the occaſion is, becauſe cloſe to their ſkin they have little ſcales, which have a ſweet ſcent, ſomewhat like muſk:

this

this aromatic odour the flies love, and here they come to repoſe themſelves, and ſting; thus they both perſecute each other continually, with an incredible hatred and antipathy. Their manner of procreating and hatching their young is thus: they approach the ſandy banks of ſome river expoſed to the ſouth ſun; among theſe ſands they lay their eggs, which afterwards they cover with their feet; and here they find a young generation hatched only by the heat of the ſun. Theſe, as ſoon as they are out of the ſhell, by natural inſtinct run to the water. Many times theſe eggs are deſtroyed by birds, that find them as they ſcrape among the ſands: hereupon the female Caymans, when they fear the coming of any flocks of birds, oftentimes by night ſwallow theſe their eggs, and keep them in their ſtomachs till the danger is over, and then they bury them again, and, as I have told you, bring them forth again out of their bellies, till the ſeaſon is come of their being hatched; then, if the mother be nigh, they run to her, and play with her, as little whelps do with their dams. In this ſort of ſport they will often run in and out of their mother's belly, even as rabbits into their holes. I myſelf have often ſpied them thus at play with their dams, over the water, upon the contrary banks of ſome river, and have diſturbed their ſport, by throwing a ſtone that way, cauſing them on a ſudden to creep into the mother's bowels for fear. The manner of procreating of theſe animals is always ſuch as I have related, and at the ſame time of the year; for they meddle not with one another but in May. They call them in this country Crocodiles, though in other places of the Weſt Indies they go under the name of Caymans.

CHAP. V.

Of all the ſorts of quadrupedes and birds of this iſland: as alſo a relation of the French bucaniers.

BEſide the fruits which this iſland produces, whoſe plenty, as is ſaid, ſurpaſſes all the iſlands of America; it abounds alſo with all ſorts of quadrupedes, as horſes, bulls, cows, wild boars, and others, very uſeful to mankind, not only for food, but for cultivating the ground, and the management of commerce.

Here are vaſt numbers of wild dogs; theſe deſtroy yearly many cattle: for no ſooner hath a cow calved, or a mare foaled, but theſe wild maſtiffs devour the young, if they find not reſiſtance from keepers, and domeſtic dogs. They run up and down the woods and fields, commonly fifty, threeſcore, or more together, being withal ſo fierce, that they will often aſſault an entire herd of wild bouls, not ceaſing to worry them till they have fetched down two or three. One day a [illegible] bucanier ſhewed me a ſtrange action of this kind: being in the fields a hunting together, we heard a great noiſe of dogs, which had ſurrounded a wild boar: having tame dogs with us, we left them to the cuſtody of our ſervants, being deſirous to ſee the ſport. Hence my companion and I climbed up two ſeveral trees, both for ſecurity and proſpect. The wild boar, all alone, ſtood againſt a tree, defending himſelf with his tuſks from a great number of dogs that incloſed him, killed with his teeth, and wounded ſeveral of them. This bloody fight continued about an hour, the wild boar, mean while, attempting many times to eſcape; at laſt flying, one dog leaping upon his back, faſtened on his teſticles, which at

at one pull he tore in pieces. The reſt of the dogs, perceiving the courage of their companion, faſtened likewiſe on the boar, and preſently killed him. This done, all of them, the firſt only excepted, laid themſelves down upon the ground about the prey, and there peaceably continued, till he, the firſt and moſt courageous of the troop, had eat as much as he could: when this dog had left off, all the reſt fell in to take their ſhare, till nothing was left. What ought we to infer from this notable action, performed by wild animals, but this, that even beaſts themſelves are not deſtitute of knowledge, and that they give us documents how to honour ſuch as have deſerved well; even ſince theſe irrational animals did reverence and reſpect him that expoſed his life to the greateſt danger againſt the common enemy?

The governor of Tortuga, Monſieur Ogeron, finding that the wild dogs killed ſo many of the wild boars, that the hunters of that iſland had much ado to find any; fearing leſt that common ſuſtenance of the iſland ſhould fail, ſent for a great quantity of poiſon from France to deſtroy the wild maſtiffs: this was done anno 1668, by commanding horſes to be killed, and empoiſoned, and laid open at certain places where the wild dogs uſed to reſort. This being continued for ſix months, there were killed an incredible number; and yet all this could not exterminate and deſtroy the race, or ſcarce diminiſh them, their number appearing almoſt as large as before. Theſe wild dogs are eaſily tamed among men, even as tame as ordinary houſe-dogs. The hunters of thoſe parts, whenever they find a wild bitch with whelps, commonly take away the puppies, and bring them home; which being grown up, they hunt much better than other dogs.

But

But here the curious reader may perhaps enquire how ſo many wild dogs came here. The occaſion was, the Spaniards having poſſeſſed theſe iſles, found them peopled with Indians, a barbarous people, ſenſual and brutiſh, hating all labour, and only inclined to killing, and making war againſt their neighbours, not out of ambition, but only becauſe they agreed not with themſelves in ſome common terms of language, and perceiving the dominion of the Spaniards laid great reſtrictions upon their lazy and brutiſh cuſtoms, they conceived an irreconcileable hatred againſt them; but eſpecially becauſe they ſaw them take poſſeſſion of their kingdoms and dominions. Hereupon they made againſt them all the reſiſtance they could, oppoſing every where their deſigns to the utmoſt: and the Spaniards finding themſelves cruelly hated by the Indians, and no where ſecure from their treacheries, reſolved to extirpate and ruin them, ſince they could neither tame them by civility, nor conquer them with the ſword. But the Indians, it being their cuſtom to make the woods their chief places of defence, at preſent made theſe their refuge, whenever they fled from the Spaniards. Hereupon thoſe firſt conquerors of the new world made uſe of dogs to range and ſearch the intricateſt thickets of woods and foreſts for thoſe their implacable and unconquerable enemies; thus they forced them to leave their old refuge, and ſubmit to the ſword, ſeeing the milder uſage would do it; hereupon they killed ſome of them, and quartering their bodies, placed them in the highways, that others might take warning from ſuch puniſhment; but this ſeverity proved of ill conſequence, for inſtead of frighting them and reducing them to civility, they conceived ſuch horror of the Spaniards, that they reſolved to deteſt and fly their ſight for ever; hence the greateſt part died in caves

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and ſubterraneous places of the woods and mountains, in which places I myſelf have often ſeen great numbers of human bones. The Spaniards finding no more Indians to appear about the woods, turned away a great number of dogs they had in their houſes, and they finding no maſters to keep them, betook themſelves to the woods and fields to hunt for food to preſerve their lives; thus by degrees they became unacquainted with houſes, and grew wild. This is the trueſt account I can give of the multitudes of wild dogs in theſe parts.

But beſides theſe wild maſtiffs, here are alſo great numbers of wild horſes every where all over the iſland: they are but low of ſtature, ſhort bodied, with great heads, long necks, and big or thick legs; in a word, they have nothing handſome in their ſhape. They run up and down commonly in troops of two or three hundred together, one going always before to lead the multitude. When they meet any perſon travelling through the woods or fields, they ſtand ſtill, ſuffering him to approach till he can almoſt touch them, and then ſuddenly ſtarting, they betake themſelves to flight, running away as faſt as they can. The hunters catch them only for their ſkins, though ſometimes they preſerve their fleſh likewiſe, which they harden with ſmoke, uſing it for proviſions when they go to ſea.

Here would be alſo wild bulls and cows in great number, if by continual hunting they were not much diminiſhed; yet conſiderable profit is made to this day by ſuch as make it their buſineſs to kill them. The wild bulls are of a vaſt bigneſs of body, and yet they hurt not any one except they be exaſperated. Their hides are from eleven to thirteen feet long.

The diverſity of birds of this iſland is ſo great, that I ſhould be troubleſome if I ſhould attempt to muſter

muſter up their ſpecies; ſo that I ſhall content myſelf to mention ſome few of the chief. Here is a certain ſpecies of pullets in the woods which the Spaniards call Pintadas, which the inhabitants find to be as good as thoſe bred in houſes. Every body knows that the parrots we have in Europe are brought from theſe parts, whence may be inferred, that ſeeing ſuch a number of theſe talkative birds are preſerved among us, notwithſtanding the diverſity of climates, much greater multitudes are to be found where the air and temperament is natural to them. The parrots make their neſts in holes of palmito-trees, which holes are before made by other birds; for they are not capable of excavating any wood, though never ſo ſoft, having their own bills too crooked and blunt; hence provident nature hath ſupplied them with the labour of other birds, called carpenters: theſe are no bigger than ſparrows, yet have ſuch hard and piercing bills, that no iron inſtrument can be made fitter to excavate any tree, though never ſo ſolid and hard; and theſe holes the parrots getting poſſeſſion of, build in them their neſts. There are pigeons of all ſorts, which are very uſeful to the inhabitants: thoſe of this iſland obſerve the ſame ſeaſons we mentioned before, ſpeaking of Tortuga. Betwixt the pigeons of both iſlands is little or no difference, only that theſe of Hiſpaniola are ſomething fatter and bigger. Another ſort of ſmall birds here are called Cabreros, or goat-keepers; theſe are very like others called Heronſetas, and chiefly feed upon crabs of the ſea. In theſe birds are found ſeven diſtinct bladders of gall, and their fleſh is as bitter as aloes. Crows or ravens, more troubleſome than uſeful, do here make a hideous noiſe through the whole iſland: their ordinary food is the fleſh of wild dogs, or the carcaſes of thoſe beaſts the bucaniers kill and throw away.

Theſe

Theſe clamorous birds no ſooner hear the report of a fowling-piece or muſket, but they gather from all ſides in flocks, and fill the air and woods with their unpleaſant notes; they are nothing different from thoſe of Europe.

It is now time to ſpeak of the French who inhabit great part of this iſland. We have already told how they came firſt into theſe parts; we ſhall now only deſcribe their manner of living, cuſtoms, and ordinary employments. The callings or profeſſions they follow are generally but three, either to hunt or plant, or elſe to rove the ſeas as pirates. It is a conſtant cuſtom among them all, to ſeek out a comrade or companion, whom we may call partner in their fortunes, with whom they join the whole ſtock of what they poſſeſs, towards a common gain. This is done by articles agreed to, and reciprocally ſigned. Some conſtitute their ſurviving companion abſolute heir to what is left by the death of the firſt; others, if they be married, leave their eſtates to their wives and children; others, to other relations: this done, every one applies himſelf to his calling, which is always one of the three afore-mentioned.

The hunters are again ſubdivided into two ſorts; for ſome of theſe only hunt wild bulls and cows, others only wild boars. The firſt of theſe are called bucaniers, and not long ago were about 600 on this iſland, but now they are reckoned about 300. The cauſe has been the great decreaſe of wild cattle, which has been ſuch, that far from getting, they now are but poor in their trade. When the bucaniers go into the woods to hunt for wild bulls and cows, they commonly remain there a twelvemonth or two years, without returning home. After the hunt is over, and the ſpoil divided, they commonly ſail to Tortuga, to provide themſelves with guns, powder, and ſhot, and other neceſſaries,

ries for another expedition; the reſt of their gains they ſpend prodigally, giving themſelves to all manner of vices and debauchery, particularly to drunkenneſs, which they practiſe moſtly with brandy; this they drink as liberally as the Spaniards do water: ſometimes they buy together a pipe of wine, this they ſtave at one end, and never ceaſe drinking till it is out. Thus ſottiſhly they live till they have no money left, and as freely gratify their luſts; for which they find more women than they can uſe; for all the tavern-keepers and ſtrumpets wait for theſe lewd bucaniers, juſt as they do at Amſterdam for the arrival of the Eaſt-India fleet. The ſaid bucaniers are very cruel and tyrannical to their ſervants, ſo that commonly they had rather be galley-ſlaves, or ſaw Braſil wood in the raſp-houſes of Holland, than ſerve ſuch barbarous maſters.

The ſecond ſort hunt nothing but wild boars; the fleſh of theſe they ſalt, and ſell it ſo to the planters. Theſe hunters have the ſame vicious cuſtoms, and are as much addicted to debauchery as the former; but their manner of hunting is different from that in Europe; for theſe bucaniers have certain places deſigned for hunting, where they live for three or four months, and ſometimes a whole year. Such places are called Deza Boulan; and in theſe, with only the company of five or ſix friends, they continue all the ſaid time in mutual friendſhip. The firſt bucaniers many times agree with planters to furniſh them with meat all the year at a certain price; the payment hereof is often made with two or three hundred weight of tobacco in the leaf; but the planters commonly into the bargain furniſh them with a ſervant, whom they ſend to help; to the ſervant they afford ſufficient neceſſaries for the purpoſe, eſpecially of powder and ſhot to hunt withal.

The

The planters began to cultivate and plant the iſle of Tortuga, anno 1598. The firſt plantation was of tobacco, which grew to admiration, being likewiſe very good; but by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of the iſland they could plant but little, there being many pieces of land there that were not fit to produce it. They attempted likewiſe to make ſugar, but by reaſon of the great expences they could not bring it to any effect; ſo that the greateſt part of the inhabitants, as we ſaid before, betook themſelves to hunting, and the remaining part to piracy. At laſt the hunters finding themſelves unable to ſubſiſt by that profeſſion, began to ſeek out lands fit for culture, and in theſe they alſo planted tobacco. The firſt land they choſe was Cal de Sac, towards the ſouth part of the iſland: this ground they divided into ſeveral quarters, which were called, the Great Amea, Niep, Rochelois, the Little Grave, the Great Grave, and the Augame. Here they encreaſed ſo, that now there are above 2000 planters. At firſt they endured much hardſhip, becauſe while they were buſied about their huſbandry, they could not go out of the iſland for proviſions: this hardſhip was increaſed by the neceſſity of grubbing, cutting down, burning and digging, to extirpate the innumerable roots of ſhrubs and trees; for when the French poſſeſſed themſelves thereof, it was overgrown with woods very thick, and theſe only inhabited by wild boars. The method they took was, to divide themſelves into ſmall companies of two or three perſons together, and theſe companies to ſeparate far enough from each other, provided with a few hatchets, and ſome coarſe proviſion: thus they uſed to go into the woods, and there to build huts only of a few rafters and boughs of trees. They firſt rooted up the ſhrubs and little trees, then cut down the great ones; theſe

theſe they heaped up, and then ſet on fire; but they were conſtrained to grub and dig up the roots as well as they could. The firſt ſeed they ſowed was beans; theſe in thoſe countries ripen and dry always in ſix weeks.

The ſecond fruit neceſſary to human life, which here they tried, was potatoes; theſe come not to perfection in leſs than four or five months. On theſe they moſt commonly make their breakfaſts; they dreſs them only by boiling them in a kettle with fair water, then they cover them with cloth for half an hour, whereby they become as ſoft as boiled cheſnuts. Of the ſaid potatoes alſo they make a drink called maiz; they cut them into ſmall ſlices, and cover them with hot water; when they are well imbibed, they preſs them through a coarſe cloth, and the liquor that comes, though ſomething thick, they keep in veſſels made for that purpoſe here, after ſetting two or three days, it works, and having thrown off its lees, is fit for drink. They uſe it with great delight; and though the taſte is ſomewhat ſour, yet it is very pleaſant, ſubſtantial, and wholeſome. The invention of this is owing to the Indians, as well as of many other things, which thoſe barbarians found out for the preſervation and pleaſure of life.

The third fruit the newly cultivated land afforded was Mandioca, which the Indians call Cazave. This root comes not to perfection till after eight or nine months, or perhaps a year; being thoroughly ripe, it may be left in the ground for eleven or twelve months without fear of corruption; but this time paſt, they muſt be uſed one way or other, otherwiſe they rot. Of theſe roots is made a ſort of granulous flour or meal, dry and white, which ſupplies the want of common bread of wheat, whereof the fields are altogether barren: for this purpoſe

purpoſe they have certain graters made either of copper or tin, wherewith they grate theſe roots, juſt as they do Mirio in Holland. By the bye, let me tell you, Mirio is a root of a very biting taſte, like ſtrong muſtard, wherewith they make ſauces for ſome ſorts of fiſh. When they have grated as much Cazave root as will ſerve the turn, they put the gratings into bags or ſacks of coarſe linen, and preſs out all the moiſture; then they ſieve the gratings, leaving them very like ſaw-duſt: the meal thus prepared, they lay on planches of iron made very hot, on which it is converted into very thin cakes; theſe are placed in the ſun, on the tops of houſes, to be thoroughly dried; and leſt they ſhould loſe any part of their meal, what did not paſs the ſieve is made up in rolls five or ſix inches thick; theſe are placed one upon another, and left to till they begin to corrupt: of this they make a liquor called Veycou, which they find very excellent, and certainly is not inferior to our Engliſh beer.

Bananas are another fruit of which is made excellent liquor, which, in ſtrength and pleaſantneſs of taſte, may be compared to the beſt wines of Spain; but this liquor eaſily cauſes drunkenneſs, and frequently inflames the throat, and produces dangerous diſeaſes in that part. Guineas Agudos is alſo another fruit whereof they make drink, but not ſo ſtrong as the precedent: howbeit, one and the other are frequently mixed with water to quench thirſt.

After they had cultivated theſe plantations with all ſorts of roots and fruits neceſſary for human life, they began to plant tobacco for trade; the manner whereof is thus: they make beds of earth twelve feet ſquare, theſe they cover with palmite leaves, that the rays of the ſun may not reach the earth; they

they water them when it doth not rain, as we do our gardens in Europe: being grown about the bigneſs of young lettuce, they tranſplant it into ſtraight lines in ſpacious fields, ſetting every plant three feet diſtant from each other. The fitteſt ſeaſon of the year for theſe things is from January till the end of March, theſe being the months wherein moſt rains fall. Tobacco muſt be weeded very carefully, ſeeing the leaſt root of any other herb coming near it hinders its growth. When it is grown to the height of about one foot and a half, they cut off the tops to hinder the ſtalks and leaves from ſhooting up too high, that the whole plant may receive greater ſtrength from the earth. When it comes to full perfection, they prepare certain apartments of fifty or ſixty feet long, and thirty or forty broad; theſe they fill with poles and rafters, and on them lay the green tobacco to dry. When it is thoroughly dried, they ſtrip the leaf from the ſtalks, and cauſe it to be rolled up by certain people, who are employed in this work and no other; to theſe they afford for their labour the tenth part of what they make up. This property is peculiar to tobacco, which I ſhall not omit, that if, while it is in the ground, the leaf be pulled off from the ſtalk, it ſprouts again no leſs than four times a-year. Here I would alſo give an account of the manner of making ſugar, indico, and gimbes; but ſe[illegible] theſe things are not planted in thoſe parts [illegible] them over.

The French planters of Hiſpaniola have always been ſubject to the governors of Tortuga, but not without much reluctancy and grudging. In 1644 the Weſt-India company of France laid the foundations of a colony in Tortuga; under which the planters of Hiſpaniola were comprehended as ſubjects: this decree diſguſted the ſaid planters, they taking

taking it very ill to be reputed ſubjects to a private company of men, who had no authority to make them ſo, eſpecially being in a country which belonged not to the king of France; hereupon they reſolved to work no longer for the ſaid company; and this reſolution was ſufficient to compel the company to a total diſſolution of the colony. But at laſt the governor of Tortuga, who was pretty well ſtocked with planters, conceiving he could more more eaſily force them than the Weſt-India company, found an invention to draw them to his obedience; he promiſed them he would put off their merchandize, and cauſe ſuch returns to be made from France as they ſhould like; withal, he dealt with the merchants underhand, that all ſhips ſhould come conſigned to him, and no perſons ſhould correſpond with thoſe planters of Hiſpaniola, thinking thereby to avoid many inconveniences, and compel them through want of all things to obey. Thus he not only obtained the obedience he deſigned, but ſome merchants, who had promiſed to deal with them and viſit them no longer, did it.

Notwithſtanding what hath been ſaid, anno 1669, two ſhips from Holland arrived at Hiſpaniola with all ſorts of merchandize; with theſe preſently the planters reſolved to deal, and with the Dutch nation for the future, thinking hereby to withdraw their obedience from the governor of Tortuga, and [illegible]ſtraining his deſigns, revenge themſelves of what they had endured under his government. Not long after the arrival of the Hollanders, the governor of Tortuga came to viſit the plantation of Hiſpaniola, in a veſſel very well armed; but the planters not only forbid him to come aſhore, but with their guns forced him to retire faſter than he came. Thus the Hollanders began a trade with theſe people; but ſuch relations and friends as the governor

governor had in Hiſpaniola, uſed all the endeavours they were capable of to impede the commerce. This being underſtood by the planters, they ſent them word, 'That in caſe they laid not aſide 'their artifices for the hindrance of the commerce 'which was begun with the Hollanders, they 'ſhould every one aſſuredly be torn in pieces.' Moreover, to oblige farther the Hollanders, and contemn the governor and his party, they gave greater ladings unto the two ſhips than they could deſire, with many gifts and preſents unto the officers and mariners, whereby they ſent them very well contented to their own country. The Hollanders came again very punctually according to their promiſe, and found the planters under a greater indignation than before againſt the governor, either becauſe of the great ſatisfaction they had already conceived of this commerce with the Dutch, or that by their means they hoped to ſubſiſt by themſelves without any farther dependence from the French nation. However it was ſuddenly after they ſet up another reſolution more ſtrange than the precedent; the tenor whereof was, 'That they would 'go unto the iſland of Tortuga, and cut the governor 'in pieces.' Hereupon they gathered together as many canoes as they could, and ſet ſail from Hiſpaniola, with deſign not only to kill the governor, but alſo to poſſeſs themſelves of the whole iſland. This they thought they could not but eaſily perform, by reaſon of all neceſſary aſſiſtance, which they believed would at any time be ſent them from Holland; by which means they were ready determined in their minds to erect themſelves into a new commonwealth, independent of the crown of France. But no ſooner had they begun this great revolution of their little ſtate, when they received news of a war declared between the two nations

in

n Europe; this wrought ſuch a conſternation in heir minds, as cauſed them to give over that enerprize, and retire without attempting any thing.

In the mean time the governor of Tortuga ſent nto France for aid towards his own ſecurity, and he reduction of thoſe people unto their former obedience; this was granted him, and two men of war were ſent unto Tortuga, with orders to be at his command. Having received ſuch a conſiderable ſupport, he ſent them very well equipped to the iſland of Hiſpaniola; being arrived at that place, they landed part of the forces, with a deſign to force the people to the obedience of thoſe whom they hated in their hearts. But the planters ſeeing the arrival of theſe two frigates, and not being ignorant of their deſign, fled into the woods, abandoning their houſes, and many of their goods, which they left behind; theſe were immediately rifled, and burnt by the French without compaſſion, not ſparing the leaſt cottage. Afterwards the governor began to relent, and let them know, that if they would return to his obedience he would hearken to an accommodation: hereupon the planters, finding they could expect no relief, ſurrendered to the governor, upon articles made and ſigned on both ſides; but theſe were not ſtrictly obſerved, for he commanded two of the chief of them to be hanged; the reſidue were pardoned, and withal he gave them leave to trade with any nation for whatſoever they found neceſſary. * With this liberty they began to recultivate their plantations, which yielded a great quantity of very good tobacco; they ſelling yearly to the ſum of 20 or 30,000 l's.

The planters here have but very few ſla'es, for want of which themſelves and their ſervan's are conſtrained to do all the drudgery. Theſe ſervants

vants commonly bind themſelves to their maſters for three years; but their maſters having no conſciences often traffick with their bodies as with horſes at a fair, ſelling them to other maſters as they ſell negroes: yea, to advance this trade, ſome perſons go purpoſely into France (and likewiſe to England and other countries) to pick up young men or boys, whom they inveigle and tranſport, and having once got them into theſe iſlands, they work them like horſes, the toil impoſed on them being much harder than what they enjoin the negroes their ſlaves; for theſe they endeavour to preſerve, being their perpetual bondmen: but for their white ſervants they care not whether they live or die, ſeeing they are to ſerve them no longer than three years. Theſe miſerable kidnapped people are frequently ſubject to a diſeaſe, which in theſe parts is called Coma, being a total privation of their ſenſes. This diſtemper is judged to proceed from their hard uſage, and the change of their native climate; and there being often among theſe ſome of good quality, tender education, and ſoft conſtitutions, they are more eaſily ſeized with this diſeaſe, and others of thoſe countries, than thoſe of harder bodies and laborious lives. Beſide the hard uſage in their diet, apparel, and reſt, many times they beat them ſo cruelly, that they fall down dead under the hands of their cruel maſters: this I have often ſeen with great grief. Of the many inſtances, I ſhall only give you the following hiſtory, it being very remarkable in its circumſtances.

A certain planter of theſe countries exerciſed ſuch cruelty towards one of his ſervants as cauſed him to run away; having abſconded for ſome [illegible] in the woods, at laſt he was taken, and brought back to the wicked Pharaoh. No ſooner had he got him, but he commanded him to be tied to a tree;

tree; here he gave him ſo many laſhes on his naked back as made his body run with an entire ſtream of blood; then, to make the ſmart of his wounds the greater, he anointed him with lemon-juice, mixed with ſalt and pepper; in this miſerable poſture he left him tied to the tree for twenty-four hours, which being paſt, he began his puniſhment again, laſhing him as before, ſo cruelly that the miſerable wretch gave up the ghoſt, with theſe dying words: 'I beſeech the Almighty God, Creator of heaven 'and earth, that he permit the wicked ſpirit 'to make thee feel as many torments before thy 'death, as thou haſt cauſed me to feel before mine.' A ſtrange thing, and worthy of aſtoniſhment and admiration! Scarce three or four days were paſt, after this horrible fact, when the Almighty judge, who had heard the cries of that tormented wretch, ſuffered the evil one ſuddenly to poſſeſs this barbarous and inhuman homicide, ſo that thoſe cruel hands, which had puniſhed to death his innocent ſervant, were the tormentors of his own body: for he beat himſelf, and tore his fleſh, after a miſerable manner till he loſt the very ſhape of a man; not ceaſing to howl and cry, without any reſt by day or night. Thus he continued raving mad till he died. Many other examples of this kind I could rehearſe; but theſe not belonging to our preſent diſcourſe, I omit them.

The planters of the Caribee Iſlands are rather worſe and more cruel to their ſervants than the former. In the iſle of St. Chriſtopher dwells one named Betteſa, well known to the Dutch merchants, who has killed above a hundred of his ſervants with blows and ſtripes. The Engliſh do the ſame with their ſervants, and the mildeſt cruelty they exerciſe towards them is, that when they have ſerved ſix years of their time (they being bound

among the Engliſh for ſeven) they uſe them ſo cruelly as to force them to beg of their maſters to ſell them to others, though it be to begin another ſervitude of ſeven years, or at leaſt three or four; and I have known many, who have thus ſerved fifteen or twenty years before they could obtain their freedom. Another law, very rigorous in that nation, is if any man owes another above twenty-five ſhillings Engliſh; if he cannot pay it, he is liable to be ſold for ſix or eight months. Not to trouble the reader any longer with relations of this kind, I ſhall now deſcribe the famous actions and exploits of the greateſt pirates of my time, during my reſidence in theſe parts; theſe I ſhall relate without the leaſt paſſion or partiality, and aſſure my reader, that I ſhall give him no ſtories upon truſt or hear-ſay, but only thoſe enterprizes to which I was myſelf an eye-witneſs.

CHAP. VI.

Of the original of the moſt famous pirates of the coaſts of America. A famous exploit of Pierre le Grand.

I HAVE told you, in the preceding chapters, how I was compelled to adventure my life among the pirates of America; which ſort of men I name ſo, becauſe they are not authorized by any ſovereign prince: for the kings of Spain having on ſeveral occaſions ſent their ambaſſadors to the kings of England and France, 'To complain of the moleſtations and 'troubles thoſe pirates often cauſed on the coaſts of 'America, even in the calm of peace;' it hath always been anſwered, 'That ſuch men did not com-'mit thoſe acts of hoſtility and piracy as ſubjects to 'their majeſties; and therefore his catholic majeſty 'might

'might proceed againſt them as he ſhould think fit.' The king of France added, 'That he had no fortreſs 'nor caſtle upon Hiſpaniola, neither did he receive a 'farthing of tribute from thence.' And the king of England adjoined, 'That he had never given any 'commiſſions to thoſe of Jamaica, to commit hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of his catholic majeſty.' Nor did he only give this bare anſwere, but out of his royal deſire to pleaſure the court of Spain, recalled the governor of Jamaica, placing another in his room: all which could not prevent theſe pirates from acting as heretofore. But before I relate their bold actions, I ſhall ſay ſomething of their riſe, and exerciſes; as alſo of the chiefeſt of them, and their manner of arming themſelves before they put to ſea.

The firſt pirate that was known upon Tortuga, was Pierre le Grand, or Peter the Great; he was born at Dieppe in Normandy. That action which rendered him famous was his taking the vice-admiral of the Spaniſh Plota, near the cape of Tiburon, on the weſt ſide of Hiſpaniola; this he performed with only one boat, and twenty-eight men. Now till that time the Spaniards had paſſed and repaſſed with all ſecurity through the channel of Bahama; ſo that Pierre le Grand ſetting out to ſea by the Caycos, he took this great ſhip with all the eaſe imaginable. The Spaniards they found aboard they ſet aſhore, and ſent the veſſel to France. The manner how this undaunted ſpirit attempted and took this large ſhip, I ſhall give you out of the journal of the author in his own words: 'The boat,' ſays he, 'wherein 'Pierre le Grand was with his companions, had 'been at ſea a long time without finding any prize 'worth his taking; and their proviſions beginning 'to fail, they were in danger of ſtarving. Being 'almoſt reduced to deſpair they ſpied a great ſhip

'of the Spaniſh Flota, ſeparated from the reſt; 'this veſſel they reſolved to take or die in the at- 'tempt: hereupon they ſailed towards her, to view 'her ſtrength; and though they judged the veſſel 'to be ſuperior to theirs, yet their covetouſneſs, and 'the extremity they were reduced to, made them 'venture. Being come ſo near that they could not 'poſſibly eſcape, they made an oath to their captain 'Pierre le Grand to ſtand by him to the laſt. It is 'true, the pirates did believe they ſhould find the 'ſhip unprovided to fight, and thereby the ſooner 'maſter her. It was in the duſk of the evening they 'began to attack; but before they engaged, they 'ordered the ſurgeon of the boat to bore a hole in 'the ſides of it, that their own veſſel ſinking under 'them, they might be more compelled to attack 'more vigorouſly, and endeavour more haſtily to 'board the ſhip. This was done accordingly; and 'without any other arms than piſtol in one hand 'and a ſword in the other, they immediately climbed 'up the ſides of the ſhip, and ran altogether into 'the great cabin, where they found the captain, 'with ſeveral of his companions, playing at cards: 'here they ſet a piſtol to his breaſt, commanding 'him to deliver up the ſhip. The Spaniards, ſur- 'prized to ſee the pirates aboard their ſhip, cried, "Jeſus bleſs us! are theſe devils, or what are "they?" 'Mean while ſome of them took poſſeſſion 'of the gun-room, and ſeized the arms, killing as 'many as made any oppoſition; whereupon the 'Spaniards preſently ſurrendered. That very day 'the captain of the ſhip had been told by ſome of 'the ſeamen, that the boat which was in view cruiz- 'ing, was a boat of pirates; whom the captain 'ſlightly anſwered,' "What then muſt I be afraid "of ſuch a pitiful thing as that is? No, though "ſhe were a ſhip as big and as ſtrong as mine is."

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'As ſoon as Pierre le Grand had taken this rich 'prize, he detained in his ſervice as many common 'ſeamen as he had need of, ſetting the reſt aſhore, and 'then ſet ſail for France, where he continued, with-'out ever returning to America again.'

The planters and hunters of Tortuga had no ſooner heard of the rich prize thoſe pirates had taken, but they reſolved to follow their example: hereupon many of them left their employments, and endeavoured to get ſome ſmall boats, wherein to exercile piracy; but not being able to purchaſe, or build them at Tortuga, they reſolved to ſet forth in their canoes, and ſeek them elſewhere. With theſe they cruized at firſt upon cape de Alvarez, where the Spaniards uſed to trade from one city to another in ſmall veſſels, in which they carry hides, tobacco, and other commodities to the Havanna, and to which the Spaniards from Europe do frequently reſort.

Here it was that thoſe pirates at firſt took a great many boats laden with the aforeſaid commodities; theſe they uſed to carry to Tortuga, and ſell the whole purchaſe to the ſhips that wait for their return or accidentally happened to be there. With the gains of theſe prizes they provided themſelves with neceſſaries, wherewith to undertake other voyages, ſome of which were made to Campeachy, and others towards New Spain; in both which the Spaniards then drove a great trade. Upon thoſe coaſts they found great numbers of trading veſſels, and often ſhips of great burden. Two of the biggeſt of theſe veſſels, and two great ſhips which the Spaniards had laden with plate in the port of Campeachy, to go to the Caraccas, they took in leſs than a month's time, and carried to Tortuga; where the people of the whole iſland, encouraged by their ſucceſs, eſpecially ſeeing in two years the riches of the country ſo much

increaſed, they augmented the number of pirates ſo faſt, that in a little time there were in that ſmall iſland and port, above twenty ſhips of this ſort of people. Hereupon the Spaniards, not able to bear their robberies any longer, equipped two large men of war, both for the defence of their own coaſts, and to cruize upon the enemies.

CHAP. VII.

How the pirates arm their veſſels, and regulate their voyages.

BEFORE the pirates go to ſea, they give notice to all concerned of the day on which they are to embark; obliging each man to bring ſo many pounds of powder and ball as they think neceſſary. Being all come aboard, they conſider where to get proviſions, eſpecially fleſh, ſeeing they ſcarce eat any thing elſe; and of this the moſt common ſort is pork; the next food is tortoiſes, which they ſalt a little: ſometimes they rob ſuch or ſuch hog-yards, where the Spaniards oft have a thouſand heads of ſwine together. They come to theſe places in the night, and having beſet the keeper's lodge, they force him to riſe, and give them as many heads as they deſire, threatening to kill him if he refuſes, or make any noiſe: and theſe menaces are oftentimes executed on the miſerable ſwine-keepers, or any other perſon that endeavours to hinder their robberies.

Having got fleſh ſufficient for their voyage, they return to their ſhip: here they allow, twice a day, every one as much as he can eat, without weight or meaſure; nor does the ſteward of the veſſel give any more fleſh, or any thing elſe, to the captain than to the meaneſt mariner. The ſhip being well victualled, they deliberate whither they ſhall go to ſeek their deſperate

deſperate fortunes, and likewiſe agree upon certain articles, which are put in writting, which every one is bound to obſerve; and all of them, or the chiefeſt part, do ſet their hands to it. Here they ſet down diſtinctly, what ſums of money each particular perſon ought to have for that voyage, the fund of all the payments being what is gotten by the whole expedition; for otherwiſe it is the ſame law among theſe people, as with other pirates, 'No prey no pay.' Firſt therefore, they mention how much the captain is to have for his ſhip; next the ſalary of the carpenter or ſhipwright who careened, mended, and rigged the veſſel: this commonly amounts to 100 or 150 pieces of eight, according to the agreement. Afterwards, for proviſions and victualling, they draw out of the ſame common ſtock about 200 pieces of eight; alſo a ſalary for the ſurgeon, and his cheſt of medicaments, which uſually is rated at 200 or 250 pieces of eight. Laſtly, they agree what rate each one ought to have that is either wounded or maimed in his body, ſuffering the loſs of any limb; as, for the loſs of a right arm, 600 pieces of eight, or ſix ſlaves; for the left arm 500 pieces of eight, or five ſlaves; for a right leg, 500 pieces of eight, or five ſlaves; for the left leg, 400 pieces of eight, or four ſlaves; for an eye, 100 pieces of eight, or one ſlave; for a finger the ſame as for an eye: all which ſums are taken out of the common ſtock of what is gotten by their piracy, and a very exact and equal dividend is made of the remainder. They have alſo regard to qualities and places: thus the captain or chief is allotted five or ſix portions, to what the ordinary ſeamen have; the maſter's mate only two, and other officers proportionably to their employ: after which they draw equal parts from the higheſt to the loweſt mariner, the boys not being omitted, who draw half a ſhare; becauſe when they

take a better veſſel than their own, it is the boys duty to fire their former veſſel, and then retire to the prize.

They obſerve among themſelves very good orders; for in the prizes which they take, it is ſeverely prohibited, to every one, to take any thing to themſelves: hence all they take is equally divided, as hath been ſaid before; yea, they take a ſolemn oath to each other, not to conceal the leaſt thing they find among the prizes; and if any one is found falſe to the ſaid oath, he is immediately turned out of the ſociety. They are very civil and charitable to each other; ſo that if any one wants what another has, with great willingneſs they give it one to another. As ſoon as theſe pirates have taken a prize, they immediately ſet aſhore the priſoners, detaining only ſome few, for their own help and ſervice; whom alſo they releaſe after two or three years. They refreſh themſelves at one iſland or another, but eſpecially at thoſe on the ſouth of Cuba: here they careen their veſſels, while ſome hunt, and others cruize in Canoes for prize. Many times they take the poor tortoiſe fiſhermen, and make them work during their pleaſure.

In the ſeveral parts of America are found four diſtinct ſpecies of tortoiſes: the firſt are ſo great, that they weigh two or three thouſand pounds; the ſcales are ſo ſoft that they may be cut with a knife; but theſe are not good to eat. The ſecond ſort is of an indifferent bigneſs, and of a green colour; their ſcales are harder than the firſt, and of a very pleaſant taſte. The third is little different in ſize from the ſecond, only the head ſomething bigger; it is called by the French Cavana, and is not good meat. The fourth is named Caret, being very like thoſe of Europe: this ſort keeps commonly among the rocks, whence they crawl out for their food, which is generally ſea-apples;

apples: thoſe other above mentioned feed on graſs, which grows in the water on the ſandy banks: theſe banks or ſhelves, for their pleaſant green, reſemble the delightful meadows of the United Provinces. Their eggs are almoſt like thoſe of the crocodile, but without any ſhell, being only covered with a thin film; they are found in ſuch prodigious quantities along the ſhores, that were they not frequently deſtroyed by birds, the ſea would abound with tortoiſes.

These creatures have certain places where they lay their eggs every year; the chief are the three iſlands called Caymanes, in 20 deg. 15 min. lat. being 45 leagues north of Cuba.

It is worth conſidering how the tortoiſes find theſe iſlands; for the greateſt part come from the gulf of Honduras, 150 leagues off, and many times the ſhips having loſt their latitude, through the darkneſs of the weather, ſteer only by the noiſe the tortoiſes make in ſwimming, and reach thoſe iſles. When the ſeaſon of hatching is paſt, they retire to Cuba, which affords them good food; but while they are at the Caymanes they eat little or nothing. When they have been a month in the ſeas of Cuba, and are grown fat, the Spaniards fiſh for them, being then to be taken in ſuch abundance, that they furniſh their cities, towns, and villages with them. The way they take them is, by making with a great nail a kind of dart; this they fix at the end of a long pole, with which they kill the tortoiſes whenever they appear above the water.

The inhabitants of New Spain and Campeachy hide their beſt merchandiſe in ſhips of great bulk: the veſſels from Campeachy ſail in the winter to Caraccas, Trinity-Iſles, and that of Margarita, and return back again in the ſummer. The pirates knowing theſe ſeaſons (being very diligent in their

enquiries) always cruize between the places abovementioned; but in caſe they light of no conſiderable booty, they commonly undertake ſome more hazardous enterprizes; one remarkable inſtance of which I ſhall here give you: a certain pirate called Pierre François, or Peter Francis, waiting a long time at ſea with his boat and twenty-ſix men, for the ſhips that were to return from Maracaibo to Campeachy, and not being able to find any prey, at laſt he reſolved to direct his courſe to Rio de la Plata, near the river de la Plata, in 12 deg. and a half north latitude. Here lies a rich bank of pearl, to the fiſhery whereof they yearly ſent from Carthagena twelve veſſels, with a man of war for their defence. Every veſſel has at leaſt two negroes in it, who are very dextrous in diving to the depth of ſix fathoms, where they find good ſtore of pearls. On this fleet, called the pearl-fleet, Pierre François reſolved to venture, rather than go home empty; they then rid at anchor at the mouth of the river de la Hacha, the man of war ſcarce half a league diſtant from the ſmall ſhips, and the wind very calm. Having ſpied them in this poſture, he preſently pulled down his ſails, and rowed along the coaſt, feigning to be a Spaniſh veſſel come from Maracaibo; but no ſooner was he come to the pearl-bank, when ſuddenly he aſſaulted the vice-admiral of eight guns and ſixty men, commanding them to ſurrender. The Spaniards made a good defence for ſome time, but at laſt were forced to ſubmit: Having thus taken the vice admiral, he reſolved to attempt the man of war, with which addition he hoped to maſter the reſt of the fleet: to this end he preſently ſunk his own boat, putting forth the Spaniſh colours, and weighed anchor with a little wind which then began to ſtir, having with threats and promiſes compelled moſt of the Spaniards to aſſiſt him.

him. But ſo ſoon as the man of war perceived one of his fleet to ſail, he did ſo too, fearing leſt the mariners deſigned to run away with the riches they had on board. The pirate on this immediately gave over the enterprize, thinking themſelves unable to encounter force to force; hereupon they endeavoured to get out of the river and gain the open ſeas, by making as much ſail as they could; which the man of war perceiving, he preſently gave them chaſe: but the pirates having laid on too much ſail, and a guſt of wind ſuddenly riſing, their main-maſt was brought by the board, which diſabled them from eſcaping.

This unhappy event much encouraged thoſe in the man of war, they gaining upon the pirates every moment, and at laſt overtook them; but they finding they had twenty-two found men, the reſt being either killed or wounded, reſolved to defend themſelves as long as poſſible; this they performed very courageouſly for ſome time, till they were forced by the man of war, on condition that they ſhould not be uſed as ſlaves to carry ſtones, or be employed in other labours for three or four years, as they ſerved their negroes, but that they ſhould be ſet ſafe aſhore on free land. On theſe articles they yielded with all they had taken, which was worth, in pearls alone, above 100,000 pieces of eight, beſides the veſſel, proviſions, goods, &c. All which would have made this a greater prize than he could deſire, which he had certainly carried off, if his main-maſt had not been loſt, as we ſaid before.

Another bold attempt like this, nor leſs remarkable, I ſhall alſo give you. A certain pirate of Portugal, thence called Bartholomew Portugues, was cruiſing in a boat of thirty men and four ſmall guns, from Jamaica, upon the cape de Corriente in Cuba, where he met a great ſhip from Maracaibo and Carthagena,

Carthagena, bound for the Havanna, well provided with twenty great guns and ſeventy men, paſſengers and mariners; this ſhip he preſently aſſaulted, which they on board as reſolutely defended. The pirate eſcaping the firſt encounter, reſolved to attack her more vigorouſly than before, ſeeing he had yet ſuffered no great damage: this he performed with ſo much reſolution, that at laſt, after a long and dangerous fight, he became maſter of it. The Portugueſe loſt only ten men, and had four wounded, ſo that he had ſtill remaining twenty fighting men, whereas the Spaniards had double the number. Having poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſhip, the wind being contrary to return to Jamaica, they reſolved to ſteer to Cape St. Anthony (which lies weſt of Cuba) there to repair and take in freſh water, of which they were then in great want.

Being very near the cape aboveſaid, they unexpectedly met with three great ſhips coming from New Spain, and bound for the Havanna: by theſe, not being able to eſcape, they were eaſily retaken, both ſhip and pirates, and all made priſoners, and ſtripped of all the riches they had taken but juſt before. The cargo conſiſted in 120,000 weight of cocoa nuts, the chief ingredients of chocolate, and 70,000 pieces of eight. Two days after this misfortune there aroſe a great ſtorm, which ſeparated the ſhips from one another. The great veſſel, where the pirates were, arrived at Campeachy, where many conſiderable merchants came and ſaluted the captain; theſe preſently knew the Portugueſe pirate, being infamous for the many inſolencies, robberies, and murders he had committed on their coaſts, which they kept freſh in their memory.

The next day after their arrival, the magiſtrates of the city ſent to demand the priſoners from on board the ſhip, in order to puniſh them according

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to their deſerts; but fearing the captain of the pirates ſhould make his eſcape (as he had formerly done, being their priſoner once before) they judged it ſafer to leave him guarded on ſhip-board for the preſent, while they erected a gibbet to hang him on the next day, without any other proceſs than to lead him from the ſhip to his puniſhment; the rumour of which was preſently brought to Bartholomew Portugues, whereby he ſought all poſſible means to eſcape that night. With this deſign he took two earthen jars, wherein the Spaniards carry wine from Spain to the Weſt-Indies, and ſtopped them very well, intending to uſe them for ſwimming, as thoſe unſkilled in that art do corks or empty bladders. Having made this neceſſary preparation, he waited when all ſhould be aſleep; but not being able to eſcape his centinel's vigilance, he ſtabbed him with a knife he had ſecretly purchaſed, and then threw himſelf into the ſea with the earthen jars before-mentioned, by the help of which, though he never learned to ſwim, he reached the ſhore, and immediately took to the woods, where he hid himſelf for three days, not daring to appear, eating no other food than wild herbs.

Thoſe of the city next day made diligent ſearch for him in the woods, where they concluded him to be: this ſtrict enquiry Portugues ſaw from the hollow of a tree, wherein he lay hid; and upon their return he made the beſt of his way to del Golpho Triſte, forty leagues from Campeachy, where he arrived within a fortnight after his eſcape; during which time, as alſo afterwards, he endured extreme hunger and thirſt, having no other proviſion with him than a ſmall calabaca with a little water, beſides the fears of falling again into the hands of the Spaniards. He eat nothing but a few ſhell-fiſh,

fiſh, which he found among the rocks near the ſea-ſhore; and being obliged to paſs ſome rivers, not knowing well how to ſwim, he found at laſt an old board which the waves had driven aſhore, wherein were a few great nails; theſe he took, and with no ſmall labour whetted on a ſtone, till he had made them like knives, though not ſo well; with theſe, and nothing elſe, he cut down ſome branches of trees, which with twigs and oſiers he joined together, and made as well as he could a boat to waft him over the rivers. Thus arriving at the cape of Golpho Triſte, as was ſaid, he found a veſſel of pirates, comrades of his own, lately come from Jamaica.

To theſe he related all his adverſities and misfortunes, and withal deſired they would fit him with a boat and twenty men, with which company alone he promiſed to return to Campeachy, and aſſault the ſhip that was in the river, by which he had been taken fourteen days before. They preſently granted his requeſt, and equipped him a boat accordingly. With this ſmall company he ſet out to execute his deſign, which he bravely performed eight days after he left Golpho Triſte; for being arrived at Campeachy, with an undaunted courage, and without any noiſe, he aſſaulted the ſaid ſhip; thoſe on board thought it was a boat from land that came to bring contraband goods, and ſo were in no poſture of defence; which opportunity the pirates laying hold of, aſſaulted them ſo reſolutely, that in a little time they compelled the Spaniards to ſurrender.

Being maſters of the ſhip, they immediately weighed anchor and ſet ſail from the port, leſt they ſhould be purſued by other veſſels: this they did with the utmoſt joy, ſeeing themſelves poſſeſſors of ſo brave a ſhip, eſpecially Portugues, who by a ſe-

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cond turn of fortune was become rich and powerful again, who was ſo lately in that ſame veſſel a priſoner, condemned to be hanged. With this purchaſe he deſigned greater things, which he might have done, ſince there remained in the veſſel ſo great a quantity of rich merchandiſe, though the plate had been ſent to the city: but while he was making his voyage to Jamaica, near the iſle of Pinos, on the ſouth of Cuba, a terrible ſtorm aroſe, which drove againſt the Jardines rocks, where ſhe was loſt; but Portugues with his companions eſcaped in a canoe, in which he arrived at Jamaica, where it was not long ere he went on new adventures, but was never fortunate after.

Nor leſs conſiderable are the actions of another pirate who now lives at Jamaica, who on ſeveral occaſions has performed very ſurprizing things. He was born at Groninghen in the United Provinces: his own name not being known, his companions gave him that of Roche Braſiliano, by reaſon of his long reſidence in Braſil: hence he was forced to fly, when the Portugueſe retook thoſe countries from the Dutch, ſeveral nations then inhabiting at Braſil (as Engliſh, French, Dutch, and others) being conſtrained to ſeek new fortunes.

This perſon fled to Jamaica, where being at a ſtand how to get his living, he entered himſelf into the ſociety of pirates, where he ſerved as a private mariner for ſome time, and behaved himſelf ſo well, that he was beloved and reſpected by all. One day ſome of the mariners quarrelled with their captain to that degree, that they left the boat; Braſtiano following them, was choſe their leader, who having fitted out a ſmall veſſel, they made him captain.

Within a few days after he took a great ſhip coming from New Spain, which had a great quantity

tity of plate on board, and carried it to Jamaica. This action got him a great reputation at home; and though in his private affairs he governed himſelf very well, he would oftentimes appear brutiſh and fooliſh when in drink, running up and down the ſtreets, beating or wounding thoſe he met, no perſon daring to make any reſiſtance.

To the Spaniards he was always very barbarous and cruel, out of an inveterate hatred againſt that nation; of theſe he commanded ſeveral to be roaſted alive on wooden ſpits, for not ſhewing him hog-yards where he might ſteal ſwine. After many of theſe cruelties, as he was cruiſing on the coaſts of Campeachy, a diſmal tempeſt ſurprized him ſo violently, that his ſhip was wrecked upon the coaſts, the mariners only eſcaping with their muſkets, and ſome few bullets and powder, which were the only things they could ſave. The ſhip was loſt between Campeachy and the Golpho Triſte; here they got aſhore in a canoe, and marching along the coaſt with all the ſpeed they could, they directed their courſe towards Golpho Triſte, the common refuge of the pirates. Being upon his journey, and all very hungry and thirſty, as is uſual in deſart places, they were purſued by a troop of 100 Spaniards. Braſiliano perceiving their imminent danger, encouraged his companions, telling them, 'They were 'better ſoldiers, and ought rather to die under 'their arms fighting, as it became men of courage, 'than ſurrender to the Spaniards, who would take 'away their lives with the utmoſt torments.' The pirates were but thirty, yet ſeeing their brave commander oppoſe the enemy with ſuch courage, reſolved to do the like: hereupon they faced the troop of Spaniards, and diſcharged their muſkets on them ſo dextrouſly, that they killed one horſeman almoſt with every ſhot. The fight continued for

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an hour, till at laſt the Spaniards were put to flight. They ſtripped the dead, and took from them what was moſt for their uſe; ſuch as were not quite dead they diſpatched with the ends of their muſkets.

Having vanquiſhed the enemy, they mounted on horſes they found in the field, and continued their journey: Braſiliano having loſt but two of his companions in this bloody fight, and had two wounded. Proſecuting their way, before they came to the port, they ſpied a boat at anchor from Campeachy, well manned, protecting a few canoes that were lading wood; hereupon they ſent ſix of their men to watch them, who next morning by a wile poſſeſſed themſelves of the canoes. Having given notice to their companions, they boarded them, and alſo took the little man of war, their convoy. Being thus maſters of this fleet, they wanted only proviſions, of which they found little aboard thoſe veſſels; but this defect was ſupplied by the horſes which they killed and ſalted with ſalt, which by good fortune the wood-cutters had brought with them, with which they ſupported themſelves till they could get better.

They took alſo another ſhip going from New Spain to Maracaibo; laden with divers ſorts of merchandiſe and pieces of eight, deſigned to buy cocoa-nuts for their lading home: all theſe they carried to Jamaica, where they ſafely arrived, and, according to cuſtom, waſted all in a few days in taverns and ſtews, giving themſelves to all manner of debauchery. Such of theſe pirates will ſpend two or three thouſand pieces of eight in a night, not leaving themſelves a good ſhirt to wear in the morning. I ſaw one of them give a common ſtrumpet 500 pieces of eight to ſee her naked. My own maſter would buy ſometimes a pipe of wine, and placing

placing it in the ſtreet, would force thoſe that paſſed by to drink with him, threatening alſo to piſtol them if they would not. He would do the like with barrels of beer or ale, and very often he would throw theſe liquors about the ſtreets, and wet people's cloaths, without regarding whether he ſpoiled their apparel.

Among themſelves theſe pirates are very liberal; if any one has loſt all, which often happens in their manner of life, they freely give him of what they have. In taverns and alehouſes they have great credit; but at Jamaica they ought not to run very deep in debt, ſeeing the inhabitants there eaſily ſell one another for debt. This happened to my patron, to be ſold for a debt of a tavern, wherein he had ſpent the greateſt part of his money. This man had within three months before 3000 pieces of eight in ready caſh, all which he waſted in that little time, and became as poor as I have told you.

But to return: Braſiliano, after having ſpent all, was forced to go to ſea again to ſeek his fortune; he ſet forth towards the coaſt of Campeachy, his common rendezvous; fifteen days after his arrival, he put himſelf into a canoe to eſpy the port of that city, and ſee if he could rob any Spaniſh veſſel; but his fortune was ſo bad, that both he and all his men were taken and carried before the governor, who immediately caſt them into a dungeon, intending to hang them every one; and doubtleſs he had done ſo, but for a ſtratagem of Braſiliano which ſaved their lives. He wrote a letter to the governor, in the names of other pirates that were abroad at ſea, telling him, 'He ſhould have a care how 'he uſed thoſe perſons he had in cuſtody, for if he 'hurt them in the leaſt, they ſwore they would 'never give quarter to any Spaniard that ſhould fall 'into their hands.'

Theſe

Theſe pirates having been often at Campeachy, and other places of the Weſt-Indies in the Spaniſh dominions, the governor feared what miſchief their companions abroad might do, if he ſhould puniſh them; hereupon he releaſed them, exacting only an oath on them, that they would leave their exerciſe of piracy for ever; and withal he ſent them as common mariners in the galleons to Spain. They go in this voyage, all together, 500 pieces of eight; but that they tarried not long there after their arrival; providing themſelves with neceſſaries, they returned to Jamaica, from whence they ſet forth again to ſea, committing greater robberies and cruelties than before, but eſpecially abuſing the poor Spaniards who fell into their hands with all ſorts of cruelty.'

The Spaniards, finding they could gain nothing on theſe people, nor diminiſh their number, daily reſolved to leſſen the number of their trading ſhips: but neither was this of any ſervice; for the pirates finding few ſhips at ſea, began to gather into companies, and to land on their dominions, ruining cities, towns, and villages, pillaging, burning, and carrying away as much as they could.

The firſt pirate who began theſe invaſions by land was Lewis Scot, who ſacked the city of Campeachy, which he almoſt ruined, robbing and deſtroying all he could, and after he had put it to an exceſſive ranſom, he left it. After Scot came another named Manſvelt, who invaded Granada, and penetrated even to the South-Sea, till at laſt, for want of proviſion, he was forced to go back. He aſſaulted the iſle of St. Catharine, which he took, with a few priſoners: theſe directed him to Carthagena, a principal city in Nueva Granada. But the bold attempts and actions of John Davis, born at Jamaica, ought not to be forgotten, being ſome of the

the moſt remarkable, eſpecially his rare prudence and valour ſhewed in the fore-mentioned kingdom of Granada. This pirate having long cruiſed in the gulf of Pocatauro, on the ſhips expected to Carthagena, bound for Nicaragua, and not meeting any of them, reſolved at laſt to land in Nicaragua, leaving his ſhip hid on the coaſt.

This deſign he ſoon executed: for taking 80 men out of 90, which he had in all, and the reſt he left to keep the ſhip, he divided them equally into three canoes: his intent was to rob the churches, and rifle the houſes of the chief citizens of Nicaragua. Thus, in the dark night they entered the river leading to that city, rowing in their canoes; by day they hid themſelves and boats under the branches of trees, on the banks, which grow very thick along the river ſides in thoſe countries, and along the ſea-coaſt. Being arrived at the city the third night, the centinel who kept the poſt of the river thought them to be fiſhermen that had been fiſhing in the lake; and moſt of the pirates underſtanding Spaniſh, he doubted not, as ſoon as he heard them ſpeak. They had in their company an Indian who had run away from his maſter, who would have enſlaved him unjuſtly: he went firſt aſhore, and inſtantly killed the centinel; this done, they entered the city, and went directly to three or four houſes of the chief citizens, where they knocked ſoftly; theſe believing them to be friends, opened the doors, and the pirates ſuddenly poſſeſſing themſelves of the houſes, ſtole all the money and plate they could find. Nor did they ſpare the churches and moſt ſacred things, all which were pillaged and profaned without any reſpect or veneration.

Mean while, great cries and lamentations were heard of ſome who had eſcaped them; ſo that the whole city was in an uproar, and all the citizens

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rallied in order to a defence; which the pirates perceiving, they inſtantly fled, carrying away their booty, and ſome priſoners: theſe they led away, that if any of them ſhould be taken by the Spaniards, they might uſe them for ranſom. Thus they got to their ſhip, and with all ſpeed put to ſea, forcing the priſoners, before they let them go, to procure them as much fleſh as was neceſſary for their voyage to Jamaica. But no ſooner had they weighed anchor, when they ſaw a troop of about 500 Spaniards, all well armed, at the ſea-ſide; againſt theſe they let fly ſeveral guns, wherewith they forced them to quit the ſands, and retire with no ſmall regret, to ſee theſe pirates carry away ſo much plate of their churches and houſes, though diſtant at leaſt forty leagues from the ſea.

Theſe pirates got, on this occaſion, above 4000 pieces of eight in money, beſides much plate and many jewels, in all to the value of 50,000 pieces of eight, or more. With all this they arrived at Jamaica ſoon after. But this ſort of people being never long maſters of their money, they were ſoon conſtrained to ſeek more by the ſame means; and Captain John Davis, preſently after his return, was choſen admiral of ſeven or eight veſſels, he being now eſteemed an able conductor for ſuch enterprizes. He began his new command by directing his fleet to the north of Cuba, there to wait for the fleet from New Spain; but miſſing his deſign, they determined for Florida: being arrived there, they landed their men, and ſacked a ſmall city named St. Auguſtine of Florida. The caſtle had a gariſon of 200 men, but could not prevent the pillage of the city, they effecting it without the leaſt damage from the ſoldiers or townſmen.

Thus we have ſpoken, in the firſt part of this book, of the conſtitution of Hiſpaniola and Tortuga,

tuga, their properties and inhabitants, as alſo of the fruits: in the ſecond part we ſhall deſcribe the actions of the two moſt famous pirates, who committed many horrible crimes and inhumanities upon the Spaniards.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the origin of Francis Lolonois, and the beginning of his robberies.

FRancis Lolonois was a native of that territory in France which is called Les Sables d'Oloñe, or the Sands of Olone: in his youth he was tranſported to the Caribbee iſlands, in quality of ſervant or ſlave, according to cuſtom, of which we have already ſpoken. Being out of his time, he came to Hiſpaniola; here he joined for ſome time with the hunters, before he began his robberies upon the Spaniards, which I ſhall now relate, till his unfortunate death.

At firſt he made two or three voyages as a common mariner, wherein he behaved himſelf ſo courageouſly, as to gain the favour of the governor of Tortuga, Monſieur de la Place, inſomuch that he gave him a ſhip, in which he might ſeek his fortune, which was very favourable to him at firſt, for in a ſhort time he got great riches: but his cruelties againſt the Spaniards were ſuch, that the fame of them made him ſo well known through the Indies, that the Spaniards, in his time, would chooſe rather to die, or ſink fighting, than ſurrender, knowing they ſhould have no mercy at his hands. But Fortune, being ſeldom conſtant, after ſome time turned her back; for in a huge ſtorm he loſt his ſhip on the coaſt of Campeachy. The men were all ſaved, but coming upon dry land, the Spaniards

Spaniards purſued them, and killed the greateſt part, wounding alſo Lolonois. Not knowing how to eſcape, he ſaved his life by a ſtratagem: mingling ſand with the blood of his wounds, with which beſmearing his face and other parts of his body, and hiding himſelf dextrouſly among the dead, he continued there till the Spaniards quitted the field.

They being gone, he retired to the woods, and bound up his wounds as well as he could: theſe being pretty well healed, he took his way to Campeachy, having diſguiſed himſelf in a Spaniſh habit. Here he enticed certain ſlaves, to whom he promiſed liberty, if they would obey him, and truſt to his conduct. They accepted his promiſes, and ſtealing a canoe, they went to ſea with him. Now the Spaniards having made ſeveral of his companions priſoners, kept them cloſe in a dungeon, while Lolonois went about the town, and ſaw what paſſed. Theſe were often aſked, 'What is become of your captain?' To whom they conſtantly anſwered, 'He is dead.' Which rejoiced the Spaniards, who made bonfires, and, knowing nothing to the contrary, gave thanks to God for their deliverance from ſuch a cruel pirate. Lolonois having ſeen theſe rejoicings for his death, made haſte to eſcape, with the ſlaves above-mentioned, and came ſafe to Tortuga, the common refuge of all ſorts of wickedneſs, and the ſeminary, as it were, of pirates and thieves. Though now his fortune was low, yet he got another ſhip with craft and ſubtlety, and in it 21 men. Being well provided with arms and neceſſaries, he ſet forth for Cuba, on the ſouth whereof is a ſmall village called de los Cayos. The inhabitants drive a great trade in tobacco, ſugar, and hides, and all in boats, not being able to uſe ſhips, by reaſon of the little depth of that ſea.

Lolonois was perſuaded he ſhould get here ſome conſiderable prey; but by the good fortune of ſome fiſhermen who ſaw him, and the mercy of God, they eſcaped him: for the inhabitants of the town diſpatched immediately a meſſenger over land to the Havanna, complaining that Lolonois was come to deſtroy them with two canoes. The governor could very hardly believe this, having received letters from Campeachy that he was dead: but at their importunity he ſent a ſhip to their relief, with ten guns, and ninety men, well armed; giving them this expreſs command, 'That they ſhould not 'return into his preſence without having totally 'deſtroyed thoſe pirates.' To this effect, he gave them a negro to ſerve for a hangman, and orders, 'That they ſhould immediately hang every one of 'the pirates, excepting Lolonois, their captain, 'whom they ſhould bring alive to the Havanna.' This ſhip arrived at Cayos, of whoſe coming the pirates were advertized beforehand, and inſtead of flying, went to ſeek it in the river Eſtera, where ſhe rode at anchor. The pirates ſeized ſome fiſhermen, and forced them by night to ſhew them the entry of the port, hoping ſoon to obtain a greater veſſel than their two canoes, and thereby to mend their fortune. They arrived, after two in the morning, very nigh the ſhip, and the watch on board the ſhip aſking them, 'Whence they came, 'and if they had ſeen any pirates abroad?' they cauſed one of the priſoners to anſwer, 'They had 'ſeen no pirates, nor any thing elſe.' Which anſwer made them believe that they were fled upon hearing of their coming.

But they ſoon found the contrary; for about break of day the pirates aſſaulted the veſſel on both ſides with their two canoes, with ſuch vigour, that though the Spaniards behaved themſelves as they ought,

ought, and made as good defence as they could, making ſome uſe of their great guns, yet they were forced to ſurrender, being beaten by the pirates, with ſword in hand, down under the hatches. From hence Lolonois commanded them to be brought up, one by one, and in this order cauſed their heads to be ſtruck off. Among the reſt came up the negro, deſigned to be the pirates executioner; this fellow implored mercy at his hands very deſirously, telling Lolonois he was conſtituted hangman of that ſhip, and if he would ſpare him, he would tell him faithfully all that he ſhould deſire. Lolonois making him confeſs what he thought fit, commanded him to be murdered with the reſt. Thus he cruelly and barbarouſly put them all to death, reſerving only one alive, whom he ſent back to the governor of the Havanna, with this meſſage in writing: 'I ſhall never henceforward give quarter to any Spaniard whatſoever; and I have great hopes I ſhall execute on your own perſon the very ſame puniſhment I have done upon them you ſent againſt me. Thus I have retaliated the kindneſs you deſigned to me and my companions.' The governor, much troubled at this ſad news, ſwore in the preſence of many, that he would never grant quarter to any pirate that ſhould fall into his hands. But the citizens of the Havanna deſired him not to perſiſt in the execution of that raſh and rigorous oath, ſeeing the pirates would certainly take occaſion from thence to do the ſame, and they had an hundred times more opportunity of revenge than he: that being neceſſitated to get their livelihood by fiſhery, they ſhould hereafter always be in danger of their lives. By theſe reaſons he was perſuaded to bridle his anger, and remit the ſeverity of his oath.

Now Lolonois had got a good ſhip, but very few proviſions and people in it; to purchaſe both which, he reſolved to cruize from one port to another. Doing thus for ſome time, without ſucceſs, he determined to go to the port of Maracaibo: here he ſurprized a ſhip laden with plate and other merchandizes, outward bound to buy cocoa-nuts. With this prize he returned to Tortuga, where he was received with joy by the inhabitants, they congratulating his happy ſucceſs and their own private intereſt. He ſtaid not long there, but deſigned to equip a fleet ſufficient to tranſport 500 men and neceſſaries. Thus provided, he reſolved to pillage both cities, towns, and villages, and, finally, to take Maracaibo itſelf. For this purpoſe, he knew the iſland of Tortuga would afford him many reſolute and courageous men, fit for ſuch enterprizes; beſides, he had in his ſervice ſeveral priſoners well acquainted with the ways and places deſigned upon.

CHAP. IX.

Lolonois equips a fleet to land upon the Spaniſh iſlands of America, with intent to rob, ſack, and burn whatſoever he met with.

OF this deſign Lolonois giving notice to all the pirates, whether at home or abroad, he got together, in a little while, above 400 men; beſide which, there was then in Tortuga another pirate, named Michael de Baſco, who, by his piracy, had got riches ſufficient to live at eaſe, and go no more abroad; having, withal, the office of major of the iſland. But ſeeing the great preparations that Lolonois made for this expedition, he joined him, and offered him, that if he would make him his chief captain

tain by land (ſeeing he knew the country very well, and all its avenues) he would ſhare in his fortunes, and go with him: They agreed upon articles, to the great joy of Lolonois, knowing that Baſco had done great actions in Europe, and had the repute of a good ſoldier. Thus they all embarked in eight veſſels, that of Lolonois being the greateſt, having ten guns of indifferent carriage.

All things being ready, and the whole company on board, they ſet ſail together about the end of April, being in all 660 perſons. They ſteered for that part called Bayala, north of Hiſpaniola; here they took into their company ſome French hunters, who voluntarily offered themſelves, and here they provided themſelves with victuals and neceſſaries for their voyage.

From hence they ſailed again the laſt of July, and ſteered directly to the eaſtern cape of the iſle called Punta d'Eſpada. Hereabouts eſpying a ſhip from Puerto Rico, bound for New Spain, laden with cocoa-nuts, Lolonois commanded the reſt of the fleet to wait for him near Savona, on the eaſt of Cape Punta d'Eſpada, he alone intending to take the ſaid veſſel. The Spaniards, though they had been in ſight full two hours, and knew them to be pirates, yet would not flee, but prepared to fight, being well armed and provided. The combat laſted three hours, and then they ſurrendered. This ſhip had 16 guns and 50 fighting men aboard: they found in her 120,000 weight of cocoa, 40,000 pieces of eight, and the value of 10,000 more in jewels. Lolonois ſent the veſſel preſently to Tortuga to be unladen, with orders to return as ſoon as poſſible to Savona, where he would wait for them. Mean while the reſt of the fleet being arrived at Savona, met another Spaniſh veſſel coming from Coman, with military proviſions to Hiſpaniola, and money

to pay the garisons there. This vessel they also took without any resistance, though mounted with eight guns. In it were 7000 weight of powder, a great number of muskets, and like things, with 12,000 pieces of eight.

These successes encouraged the pirates, they seeming very lucky beginnings, especially finding their fleet pretty well recruited in a little time: for the first ship arriving at Tortuga, the governor ordered it to be instantly unladen, and soon after sent back, with fresh provisions and other necessaries, to Lolonois. This ship he chose for himself, and gave that which he commanded to his comrade, Anthony du Puis. Being thus recruited with men, in lieu of them he had lost in taking the prizes, and by sickness, he found himself in a good condition to set sail for Maracaibo, in the province of Neuva Venezuela, in the latitude of 12 deg. 10 min. north. This island is 20 leagues long, and 12 broad. To this port also belong the islands of Onega and Monges. The east side thereof is called Cape St. Roman, and the western side Cape of Caquibacoa. The gulph is called by some the Gulph of Venezuela, but the pirates usually call it the Bay of Maracaibo.

At the entrance of this gulph are two islands, extending from east to west; that towards the east is called Isla de las Vigilias, or the Watch Isle, because in the middle is an high hill, on which stands a watch-house; the other is called Isla de la Palomas, or the Isle of Pigeons. Between these two islands runs a little sea, or rather lake of fresh water, 60 leagues long, and 30 broad, which disgorging itself into the ocean, dilates itself about the said two islands. Between them is the best passage for ships, the channel being no broader than the flight of a great gun of about eight pounds. On

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the Iſle of Pigeons ſtandeth a caſtle, to impede the entry of veſſels, all being neceſſitated to come very nigh the caſtle, by reaſon of two banks of ſand on the other ſide, with only fourteen feet water. Many other banks of ſand there are in this lake, as that called El Tablazo, or the Great Table, no deeper than ten feet, forty leagues within the lake. Others there are, that have no more than ſix, ſeven, or eight feet in depth: all are very dangerous, eſpecialſy to mariners unacquainted with them. Weſt hereof is the city of Maracaibo, very pleaſant to the view, its houſes being built along the ſhore, having delightful proſpects all round: the city may contain three or four thouſand perſons, ſlaves included, all which make a town of a reaſonable bigneſs. There are judged to be about eight hundred perſons able to bear arms, all Spaniards. Here are one pariſh church, well built and adorned, four monaſteries, and one hoſpital. The city is governed by a deputy-governor, ſubſtituted by the governor of the Caraccas. The trade here exerciſed is moſtly in hides and tobacco. The inhabitants poſſeſs great numbers of cattle, and many plantations, which extend thirty leagues in the country, eſpecially towards the great town of Gibraltar, where are gathered great quantities of cocoa-nuts, and all other garden-fruits, which ſerve for the regale and ſuſtenance of the inhabitants of Maracaibo, whoſe territories are much drier than thoſe of Gibraltar. Hither thoſe of Maracaibo ſend great quantities of fleſh, they making returns in oranges, lemons, and other fruits; for the inhabitants of Gibraltar want fleſh, their fields not being capable of feeding cows or ſheep.

Before Maracaibo is a very ſpacious and ſecure port, wherein may be built all ſorts of veſſels, having great convenience of timber, which may be

tranſported thither at little charge. Nigh the town lies alſo a ſmall iſland called Borrica, where they feed great numbers of goats, which cattle the inhabitants uſe more for their ſkins, than their fleſh or milk, they ſlighting theſe two, unleſs while they are tender, and young kids. In the fields are fed ſome ſheep, but of a very ſmall ſize. In ſome iſlands of the lake, and in other places hereabouts, are many ſavage Indians, called by the Spaniards Bravoes, or wild. Theſe could never be reduced by the Spaniards, being brutiſh and untameable. They dwell moſtly towards the weſt ſide of the lake, in little huts built on trees growing in the water, ſo to keep themſelves from the innumerable moſquitoes or gnats, which infeſt and torment them night and day. To the eaſt of the ſaid lake are whole towns of fiſhermen, who likewiſe live in huts built on trees, as the former. Another reaſon of this dwelling is the frequent inundations; for after great rains the land is often overflown for two or three leagues, there being no leſs than twenty-five great rivers that feed this lake. The town of Gibraltar is alſo frequently drowned by theſe, ſo that the inhabitants are conſtrained to retire to their plantations.

Gibraltar, ſituate at the ſide of the lake, about forty leagues within it, receives its proviſions of fleſh, as has been ſaid, from Maracaibo. The town is inhabited by about 1500 perſons, whereof 400 may bear arms; the greateſt part of them keep ſhops, wherein they exerciſe one trade or other. In the adjacent fields are numerous plantations of ſugar and cocoa, in which are many tall and beautiful trees, of whoſe timber houſes may be built, and ſhips. Among theſe are many handſome and proportionable cedars, ſeven or eight feet about, of which they build boats and ſhips, ſo as to bear one

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only great ſail; ſuch veſſels being called Piraguas. The whole country is well furniſhed with rivers and brooks, very uſeful in droughts, being then cut into many little channels to water their fields and plantations. They plant alſo much tobacco, well eſteemed in Europe, and for its goodneſs is called there Tobacco de ſacerdotes, or prieſts tobacco. They enjoy nigh twenty leagues of juriſdiction, which is bounded by very high mountains, perpetually covered with ſnow. On the other ſide of theſe mountains is ſituate a great city called Merida, to which the town of Gibraltar is ſubject. All merchandize is carried hence to the aforeſaid city on mules, and that but at one ſeaſon of the year, by reaſon of the exceſſive cold in thoſe high mountains. On the ſaid mules returns are made in flour of meal, which comes from towards Peru, by the way of Eſtaffe.

Thus far I thought good to make a ſhort deſcription of the lake of Maracaibo, that my reader might the better comprehend what I ſhall ſay concerning the actions of pirates in this place, as follows.

Lolonois arriving at the gulph of Venezuela caſt anchor with his whole fleet out of ſight of the Vigilia, or Watch-iſle: next day very early he ſet ſail thence with all his ſhips for the lake of Maracaibo, where they caſt anchor again; then they landed their men, with deſign to attack firſt the fortreſs that commanded the bar, therefore called de la Barra. This fort conſiſts only of ſeveral great baſkets of earth placed on a riſing ground, planted with 16 great guns, with ſeveral other heaps of earth round about for covering their men. The pirates having landed a league off this fort, advanced by degrees towards it; but the governor having eſpied their landing, had placed an ambuſcado

to cut them off behind, while he ſhould attack them in front. This the pirates diſcovered, and getting before, they defeated it ſo entirely, that not a man could retreat to the caſtle: this done, Lolonois, with his companions, advanced immediately to the fort, and after a fight of almoſt three hours, with the uſual deſperation of this ſort of people, they became maſters thereof, without any other arms than ſwords and piſtols. While they were fighting, thoſe who were the routed ambuſcade, not being able to get into the caſtle, retired into Maracaibo in great confuſion and diſorder, crying, 'The pirates will preſently be here with two thouſand men and more.' The city having formerly been taken by this kind of people, and ſacked to the uttermoſt, had ſtill an idea of that miſery: ſo that upon theſe diſmal news they endeavoured to eſcape towards Gibraltar in their boats and canoes, carrying with them all the goods and money they could. Being come to Gibraltar, they told how the fortreſs was taken, and nothing had been ſaved, nor any perſons eſcaped.

The caſtle thus taken by the pirates, they preſently ſignified to the ſhips their victory, that they ſhould come farther in without fear of danger. The reſt of that day was ſpent in ruining and demoliſhing the ſaid caſtle. They nailed the guns, and burnt as much as they could not carry away, burying the dead, and ſending on board the fleet the wounded. Next day, very early, they weighed anchor, and ſteered all together towards Maracaibo, about ſix leagues diſtant from the fort; but the wind failing that day, they could advance little, being forced to expect the tide. Next morning they came in ſight of the town, and prepared for landing under the protection of their own guns, fearing the Spaniards might have laid an ambuſcade in the

the woods: they put their men into canoes, brought for that purpoſe, and landed where they thought moſt convenient, ſhooting ſtill furiouſly with their great guns. Of thoſe in the canoes, half only went aſhore, the other half remained aboard: they fired from the ſhips as faſt as poſſible, towards the woody part of the ſhore, but could diſcover no body; then they entered the town, whoſe inhabitants, as I told you, were retired to the wood, and Gibraltar, with their wives, children, and families: their houſes they left well provided with victuals, as flour, bread, pork, brandy, wines, and poultry: with theſe the pirates fell to making good cheer, for in four weeks before they had no opportunity of filling their ſtomachs with ſuch plenty.

They inſtantly poſſeſſed themſelves of the beſt houſes in the town, and placed centinels wherever they thought convenient; the great church ſerved them for their main guard. Next day they ſent out 160 men to find out ſome of the inhabitants in the woods thereabouts; theſe returned the ſame night, bringing with them 20,000 pieces of eight, ſeveral mules laden with houſhold goods and merchandize, and twenty priſoners, men, women, and children. Some of theſe were put to the rack to make them confeſs where they had hid the reſt of their goods; but they could extort very little from them. Lolonois, who valued not murdering, though in cold blood, ten or twelve Spaniards, drew his cutlaſs, and hacked one to pieces before the reſt, ſaying, 'If you do not confeſs and declare where you have hid the reſt of your goods, 'I will do the like to all your companions.' At laſt, amongſt theſe horrible cruelties and inhuman threats, one promiſed to ſhew the place where the reſt of the Spaniards were hid; but thoſe that were fled having intelligence of it, changed place, and

buried the remnant of their riches under ground, ſo that the pirates could not find them out, unleſs ſome of their own party ſhould reveal them; beſides, the Spaniards flying from one place to another every day, and often changing woods, were jealous even of each other, ſo as the father durſt ſcarce truſt his own ſon.

After the pirates had been fifteen days in Maracaibo, they reſolved for Gibraltar; but the inhabitants having received intelligence thereof, and that they intended afterwards to go to Merida, gave notice of it to the governor there, who was a valiant ſoldier, and had been an officer in Flanders. His anſwer was, 'He would have them take no care, 'for he hoped in a little while to exterminate the 'ſaid pirates.' Whereupon he came to Gibraltar with 400 men well armed, ordering at the ſame time the inhabitants to put themſelves in arms; ſo that in all he made 800 fighting men. With the ſame ſpeed he raiſed a battery towards the ſea, mounted with twenty guns, covered with great baſkets of earth; another battery he placed in another place, mounted with eight guns. This done, he barricadoed a narrow paſſage to the town, through which the pirates muſt paſs, opening at the ſame time another through much dirt and mud into the wood, totally unknown to the pirates.

The pirates, ignorant of theſe preparations, having embarked all their priſoners and booty, took their way towards Gibraltar. Being come in ſight of the place, they ſaw the royal ſtandard hanging forth, and that thoſe of the town deſigned to defend their houſes. Lolonois ſeeing this, called a council of war what they ought to do, telling his officers and mariners, 'That the difficulty of the 'enterprize was very great, ſeeing the Spaniards had 'had ſo much time to put themſelves in a poſture of

'of defence, and had got a good body of men to-
'gether, with much ammunition; but notwith-
'ſtanding,' ſaid he, 'have a good courage, we
'muſt either defend ourſelves like good ſoldiers, or
'loſe our lives with all the riches we have got. Do
'as I ſhall do who am your captain: at other times
'we have fought with fewer men than we have in
'our company at preſent, and yet we have over-
'come greater numbers than there poſſibly can be
'in this town: the more they are, the more glory
'and the greater riches we ſhall gain.' The pirates
ſuppoſed that all the riches of the inhabitants of
Maracaibo were tranſported to Gibraltar, or at leaſt
the greateſt part. After this ſpeech, they all pro-
miſed to follow and obey him. Lolonois made an-
ſwer, 'It is well, but know ye, withal, that the
'firſt man who ſhall ſhew any fear, or the leaſt ap-
'prehenſion thereof, I will piſtol him with my own
'hands.'

With this reſolution they caſt anchor nigh the
ſhore, near three quarters of a league from the
town: next day, before ſun-riſing, they landed 380
men well provided, and armed every one with a
cutlaſs and one or two piſtols, and ſufficient powder
and bullet for thirty charges. Here they all ſhook
hands in teſtimony of good courage, and began
their march, Lolonois ſpeaking thus, 'Come, my
'brethren, follow me, and have good courage.'
They followed their guide, who believing he led
them well, brought them to the way which the go-
vernor had barricadoed: not being able to paſs
that way, they went to the other newly made in
the wood among the mire, which the Spaniards
could ſhoot into at pleaſure; but the pirates, full
of courage, cut down the branches of trees and
threw them on the way, that they might not ſtick
in the dirt; mean while thoſe of Gibraltar fired
with

with their great guns ſo furiouſly, that they could ſcarce hear nor ſee for the noiſe and ſmoke. Being paſt the wood, they came on firm ground, where they met with a battery of ſix guns, which immediately the Spaniards diſcharged upon them, all loaded with ſmall bullets and pieces of iron; and the Spaniards ſallying forth, ſet upon them with ſuch fury, as cauſed the pirates to give way, few of them caring to advance towards the fort, many of them being already killed and wounded. This made them go back to ſeek another way; but the Spaniards having cut down many trees to hinder the paſſage, they could find none, but were forced to return to that they had left. Here the Spaniards continued to fire as before, nor would they ſally out of their batteries to fight them any more. Lolonois and his companions not being able to grimp up the baſkets of earth, were compelled to uſe an old ſtratagem, wherewith at laſt they deceived and overcame the Spaniards.

Lolonois retired ſuddenly with all his men, making ſhew as if he fled; hereupon the Spaniards crying out, 'They flee, they flee, let us follow 'them,' ſallied forth with great diſorder to the purſuit. Being drawn to ſome diſtance from the batteries, which was the pirates only deſign, they turned upon them unexpectedly with ſword in hand, and killed above 200 men; and thus fighting their way through thoſe who remained, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the batteries. The Spaniards that remained abroad, giving themſelves over for loſt, fled to the woods; thoſe in the battery of eight guns ſurrendered themſelves, obtaining quarter for their lives. The pirates being now become maſters of the town, pulled down the Spaniſh colours and ſet up their own, taking priſoners as many as they could find: theſe they carried to the great church, where

where they raiſed a battery of ſeveral great guns, fearing leſt the Spaniards that were fled ſhould rally, and come upon them again; but next day being all fortified, their fears were over. They gathered the dead to bury them, being above 500 Spaniards, beſides the wounded in the town, and thoſe that died of their wounds in the woods. The pirates had alſo above 150 priſoners, and nigh 500 ſlaves, many women and children.

Of their own companions only forty were killed; and almoſt eighty wounded, whereof the greateſt part died through the bad air, which brought fevers and other illneſs. They put the ſlain Spaniards into two great boats, and carrying them a quarter of a league to ſea, they ſunk the boats; this done, they gathered all the plate, houſhold-ſtuff, and merchandize they could, or thought convenient to carry away. The Spaniards who had any thing left had hid it carefully; but the unſatisfied pirates, not contented with the riches they had got, ſought for more goods and merchandize, not ſparing thoſe who lived in the fields, ſuch as hunters and planters. They had ſcarce been eighteen days on the place, when the greateſt part of the priſoners died for hunger; for in the town were few proviſions, eſpecially of fleſh, though they had ſome, but no ſufficient quantity of flour of meal, and this the pirates had taken for themſelves, as they alſo took the ſwine, cows, ſheep, and poultry, without allowing any ſhare to the poor priſoners; for theſe they only provided ſome ſmall quantity of mules and aſſes fleſh; and many who could not eat of that loathſome proviſion, died for hunger, their ſtomachs not being accuſtomed to ſuch ſuſtenance; only ſome women were allowed better cheer, becauſe they ſerved their ſenſual delights, to which thoſe robbers are much given: among theſe ſome had

had been forced, others were volunteers, though almoſt all rather ſubmitted through poverty and hunger than any other cauſe. Of the priſoners many alſo died under the torment they ſuſtained to make them diſcover their money or jewels; and of theſe, ſome had none, nor knew of none, and others denying what they knew, endured ſuch horrible deaths.

Finally, after having been in poſſeſſion of the town four entire weeks, they ſent four of the priſoners to the Spaniards that were fled to the woods, demanding of them a ranſom for not burning the town: the ſum demanded was 10,000 pieces of eight, which if not ſent, they threatened to reduce it to aſhes For bringing in this money, they allowed them only two days; but the Spaniards not having been able to gather ſo punctually ſuch a ſum, the pirates fired many places of the town; whereupon the inhabitants begged them to help quench the fire, and the ranſom ſhould be readily paid. The pirates condeſcended, helping as much as they could to ſtop the fire; but, notwithſtanding all their beſt endeavours, one part of the town was ruined, eſpecially the church belonging to the monaſtery was burnt down. After they had received the ſaid ſum, they carried aboard all the riches they had got, with a great number of ſlaves which had not paid the ranſom; for all the priſoners had ſums of money ſet upon them, and the ſlaves were alſo commanded to be redeemed. Hence they returned to Maracaibo, where being arrived, they found a general conſternation in the whole city, to which they ſent three or four priſoners to tell the governor and inhabitants, 'They ſhould bring them 30,000 'pieces of eight aboard their ſhips for a ranſom of 'their houſes, otherwiſe they ſhould be ſacked 'anew, and burnt.'

Among

Among theſe debates a party of pirates came on ſhore, and carried away the images, pictures, and bells of the great church, aboard the fleet. The Spaniards who were ſent to demand the ſum aforeſaid returned, with orders to make ſome agreement; who concluded with the pirates to give for their ranſom and liberty 20,000 pieces of eight, and 500 cows, provided that they ſhould commit no farther hoſtilities, but depart thence preſently, after payment of money and cattle. The one and the other being delivered, the whole fleet ſet ſail, cauſing great joy to the inhabitants of Maracaibo, to ſee themſelves quit of them: but three days after they renewed their fears with admiration, ſeeing the pirates appear again, and re-enter the port with all their ſhips; but theſe apprehenſions vaniſhed, upon hearing one of the pirates errand, who came aſhore from Lolonois, 'to demand a ſkilful pilot to 'conduct one of the greateſt ſhips over the dan-'gerous bank that lieth at the very entry of the 'lake.' Which petition, or rather command, was inſtantly granted.

They had now been full two months in thoſe towns, wherein they committed thoſe cruel and inſolent actions we have related. Departing thence, they took their courſe to Hiſpaniola, and arrived there in eight days, caſting anchor in a port called Iſla de la Vacca, or Cow Iſland. This iſland is inhabited by French bucaniers, who moſtly ſell the fleſh they hunt to pirates, and others, who now and then put in there to victual or trade. Here they unladed their whole cargazone of riches, the uſual ſtorehouſe of the pirates being commonly under the ſhelter of the bucaniers. Here they made a dividend of all their prizes and gains, according to the order and degree of every one, as has been mentioned before. Having made an exact calculation of

of all their plunder, they found in ready money 260,000 pieces of eight: this being divided, every one received for his ſhare in money, as alſo in ſilk, linen, and other commodities, to the value of above 100 pieces of eight. Thoſe who had been wounded received their firſt part, after the rate mentioned before, for the loſs of their limbs. Then they weighed all the plate uncoined, reckoning ten pieces of eight to a pound; the jewels were prized differently, either too high or too low, by reaſon of their ignorance. This done, every one was put to his oath again, that he had not ſmuggled any thing from the common ſtock. Hence they proceeded to the dividend of the ſhares of ſuch as were dead in battle, or otherwiſe: theſe ſhares were given to their friends, to be kept entire for them, and to be delivered in due time to their neareſt relations, or their apparent lawful heirs.

The whole dividend being finiſhed, they ſet ſail for Tortuga: here they arrived a month after, to the great joy of moſt of the iſland; for as to the common pirates, in three weeks they had ſcarce any money left, having ſpent it all in things of little value, or loſt it at play. Here had arrived, not long before them, two French ſhips, with wine and brandy, and ſuch like commodities, whereby theſe liquors, at the arrival of the pirates, were indifferent cheap; but this laſted not long, for ſoon after they were enhanced extremely, a gallon of brandy being ſold for four pieces of eight. The governor of the iſland bought of the pirates the whole cargo of the ſhip laden with cocoa, giving for that rich commodity ſcarce the twentieth part of its worth. Thus they made ſhift to loſe and ſpend the riches they had got, in much leſs time than they were purchaſed: the taverns and ſtews, according to the cuſtom of pirates, got the greateſt part; ſo that

ſoon.

ſoon after they were forced to ſeek more by the ſame unlawful means they had got the former.

CHAP. X.

Lolonois makes new preparations to take the city of St. James de Leon; as alſo that of Nicaragua, where he miſerably periſhes.

LOLONOIS had got great repute at Tortuga by this laſt voyage, becauſe he brought home ſuch conſiderable profit; and now he need take no great care to gather men to ſerve under him, more coming in voluntarily than he could employ, every one repoſing ſuch confidence in his conduct, that they judged it very ſafe to expoſe themſelves, in his company, to the greateſt dangers. He reſolved therefore a ſecond voyage to the parts of Nicaragua, to pillage there as many towns as he could.

Having publiſhed his new preparations, he had all his men together at the time, being about 700. Of theſe he put 300 aboard the ſhip he took at Maracaibo, and the reſt in five other veſſels of leſſer burden; ſo that they were in all ſix ſhips. The firſt port they went to was Bayaha in Hiſpaniola, to victual the fleet, and take in proviſions; which done, they ſteered their courſe to a port called Matamana, on the ſouth ſide of Cuba, intending to take here all the canoes they could, theſe coaſts being frequented by the fiſhers of tortoiſes, who carry them hence to the Havanna. They took as many of them, to the great grief of thoſe miſerable people, as they thought neceſſary; for they had great uſe for theſe ſmall bottoms, by reaſon the port they deſigned for had not depth enough for ſhips of any burden. Hence they took their courſe towards the cape Gracias à Dios, on the continent, in latitude 15 deg.

15 deg. north, 100 leagues from the iſland de los Pinos. Being at ſea, they were taken with a ſad and tedious calm, and, by the agitation of the waves alone, were thrown into the gulph of Honduras: here they laboured hard in vain to regain what they had loſt, both the waters and the winds being contrary; beſides, the ſhip wherein Lolonois was embarked could not follow the reſt; and, what was worſe, they wanted proviſions. Hereupon they were forced to put into the firſt port they could reach, to re-victual: ſo they entered with their canoes into the river Xagua, inhabited by Indians, whom they totally deſtroyed, finding great quantities of millet, and many hogs and hens: not contented with which, they determined to remain there till the bad weather was over, and to pillage all the towns and villages along the coaſt of the gulph. Thus they paſſed from one place to another, ſeeking ſtill more proviſions, with which they were not ſufficiently ſupplied. Having ſearched and rifled many villages, where they found no great matter, they came at laſt to Puerto Cavallo. Here the Spaniards have two ſtorehouſes to keep the merchandizes that are brought from the inner parts of the country, till the arrival of the ſhips. There was then in the port a Spaniſh ſhip of 24 guns and 16 pedreroes, or mortar-pieces: this ſhip was immediately ſeized by the pirates, and then drawing nigh the ſhore, they landed, and burnt the two ſtorehouſes, with all the reſt of the houſes there. Many inhabitants, likewiſe, they took priſoners, and committed upon them the moſt inhuman cruelties that ever heathens invented; putting them to the cruelleſt tortures they could deviſe. It was the cuſtom of Lolonois, that having tormented perſons not confeſſing, he would inſtantly cut them in pieces with his hanger, and pull out their tongues, deſiring

ſiring to do ſo, if poſſible, to every Spaniard in the world. It often happened, that ſome of theſe miſerable priſoners, being forced by the rack, would promiſe to diſcover the places where the fugitive Spaniards lay hid; which being not able afterwards to perform, they were put to more cruel deaths than they who were dead before.

The priſoners being all dead but two (whom they reſerved to ſhew them what they deſired) they marched hence to the town of San Pedro, or St. Peter, ten or twelve leagues from Puerto Cavallo, being 300 men, whom Lolonois led, leaving behind him Moſes van Vin, his lieutenant, to govern the reſt in his abſence. Being come three leagues on their way, they met with a troop of Spaniards, who lay in ambuſcade for their coming: theſe they ſet upon with all the courage imaginable, and at laſt totally defeated. Howbeit, they behaved themſelves very manfully at firſt; but not being able to reſiſt the fury of the pirates, they were forced to give way and ſave themſelves by flight, leaving many pirates dead in the place, ſome wounded, and ſome of their own party maimed, by the way. Theſe Lolonois put to death without mercy, having aſked them what queſtions he thought fit for his purpoſe.

There were were ſtill remaining ſome few priſoners not wounded; theſe were aſked by Lolonois, if any more Spaniards did lie farther on in ambuſcade? they anſwered, there were. Then being brought before him, one by one, he aſked if there was no other way to the town but that? This he did to avoid, if poſſible, thoſe ambuſcades. But they all conſtantly anſwered him, they knew none. Having aſked them all, and finding they could ſhew him no other way, Lolonois grew outragiouſly paſſionate, ſo that he drew his cutlaſs, and with it cut open the breaſt of one of thoſe poor Spaniards,

and pulling out his heart, began to bite and gnaw it with his teeth, like a ravenous wolf, ſaying to the reſt, 'I will ſerve you all alike, if you ſhew me 'not another way.'

Hereupon thoſe miſerable wretches promiſed to ſhew him another way; but withal, they told him it was extremely difficult and laborious. Thus, to ſatisfy that cruel tyrant, they began to lead him and his army; but finding it was not for his purpoſe, as they had told him, he was forced to return to the former way; ſwearing with great choler and indignation, 'Mort Dieu, les Eſpagnols me la-'pay-'eront.' 'By God's death, the Spaniards ſhall 'pay me for this.'

Next day he fell into another ambuſcade, which he aſſaulted with ſuch horrible fury, that in leſs than an hour's time he routed the Spaniards, and killed the greateſt part of them. The Spaniards thought by theſe ambuſcades better to deſtroy the pirates, aſſaulting them by degrees; and for this reaſon had poſted themſelves in ſeveral places. At laſt he met with a third ambuſcade, where was placed a party ſtronger, and more advantageouſly than the former; yet notwithſtanding, the pirates, by continually throwing little fire-balls in great numbers, for ſome time, forced this party, as well as the former, to flee, and this with ſo great loſs of men, that before they could reach the town the greateſt part of the Spaniards were either killed or wounded. There was but one path which led to the town, very well barricadoed with good defences, and the reſt of the town round was planted with ſhrubs, called Raqueltes, full of thorns very ſharp pointed. This ſort of fortification ſeemed ſtronger than the triangles uſed in Europe, when an army is of neceſſity to paſs by the place of an enemy; it being almoſt impoſſible for the pirates to

traverſe

traverſe thoſe ſhrubs. The Spaniards poſted behind the ſaid defences, ſeeing the pirates come, began to ply them with their great guns; but theſe perceiving them ready to fire, uſed to ſtoop down, and when the ſhot was made, to fall upon the defendants with fire-balls and naked ſwords, killing many of the town: yet notwithſtanding, not being able to advance any farther, they retired for the preſent. Then they renewed the attack with fewer men than before, and obſerving not to ſhoot till they were very nigh, they gave the Spaniards a charge ſo dextrouſly, that with every ſhot they killed an enemy.

The attack continuing thus eager on both ſides till night, the Spaniards were compelled to hang forth a white flag, and deſired to come to a parley: the only conditions they required were, 'That the 'pirates ſhould give the inhabitants quarter for two 'hours.' This little time they demanded, with intent to carry away and hide as much of their goods and riches as they could, and to fly to ſome other neighbouring town. Granting this article, they entered the town, and continued there the two hours, without committing the leaſt hoſtility on the inhabitants; but no ſooner was that time paſt, than Lolonois ordered that the inhabitants ſhould be followed, and robbed of all they had carried away; and not only their goods, but their perſons likewiſe to be made priſoners; though the greateſt part of their merchandize and goods were ſo hid, as the pirates could not find them, except a few leathern ſacks, filled with anil, or indigo.

Having ſtaid here a few days, and, according to their cuſtom, committed moſt horrid inſolencies, they at laſt quitted the place, carrying away all they poſſibly could, and reducing the town to aſhes. Being come to the ſea-ſide, where they had left

left a party of their own, they found thoſe had been cruiſing upon the fiſhermen thereabouts, or who came that way from the river of Guatemala: in this river was alſo expected a ſhip from Spain. Finally, they reſolved to go toward the iſlands on the other ſide of the gulph, there to cleanſe and careen their veſſels; but they left two canoes before the coaſt, or rather the mouth of the river of Guatemala, in order to take the ſhip, which, as I ſaid, was expected from Spain.

But their chief intent in going thither was to ſeek proviſions, knowing the tortoiſes of thoſe places are excellent food. Being arrived, they divided themſelves, each party chooſing a fit poſt for that fiſhery. They undertook to knit nets with the finds of certain trees called Macoa, whereof they make alſo ropes and cables; ſo that no veſſel can be in need of ſuch things, if they can but find the ſaid trees. There are alſo many places where they find pitch in ſo great abundance, that running down the ſea-coaſts, being melted by the ſun, it congeals in the water in great heaps, like ſmall iſlands. This pitch is not like that of Europe, but reſembles, both in colour and ſhape, that froth of the ſea called bitumen; but in my judgment, this matter is nothing but wax mixed with ſand, which ſtormy weather, and the rolling waves of great rivers, hath caſt into the ſea: for in thoſe parts are great quantities of bees, who make their honey in trees, to the bodies of which the honey-comb being fixed, when tempeſts ariſe they are torn away, and by the fury of the winds carried into the ſea, as is ſaid. Some naturaliſts ſay, that the honey and the wax are ſeparated by the ſalt water, whence proceeds the good amber. This opinion ſeems the more probable, becauſe the ſaid amber taſtes as wax doth.

But

But to return to my diſcourſe: The pirates made in thoſe iſlands all the haſte they poſſibly could to equip their veſſels, hearing that the Spaniſh ſhip was come which they expected. They ſpent ſome time cruizing on the coaſts of Jucatan, where inhabit many Indians, who ſeek for the ſaid amber in thoſe ſeas. And I ſhall here, by the bye, make ſome ſhort remarks on the manner of living of the Indians, and their religion.

They have now been above 100 years under the Spaniards, to whom they performed all manner of ſervices; for whenſoever any of them needed a ſlave, or ſervant, they ſent for theſe to ſerve them as long as they pleaſed. By the Spaniards they were initiated in the principles of the Chriſtian faith and religion, and they ſent them every Sunday and holiday a prieſt to perform divine ſervice among them: afterwards, for reaſons not known, but certainly through temptations of the father of idolatry, the devil, they ſuddenly caſt off the Chriſtian religion, abuſing the prieſt that was ſent them; this provoked the Spaniards to puniſh them, by caſting many of the chief into priſon. Every one of thoſe barbarians had, and hath ſtill, a god to himſelf, whom he ſerves and worſhips. It is a matter of admiration how they uſe a child newly born: as ſoon as it comes into the world, they carry it to the temple; here they make a hole, which they fill with aſhes only, on which they place the child naked, leaving it there a whole night alone, not without great danger, no body daring to come near it. Mean while the temple is open on all ſides, that all ſorts of beaſts may freely come in and out. Next day, the father and relations of the infant return to ſee if the track or ſtep of any animal appears in the aſhes; not finding any, they leave the child there till ſome beaſt has approached the infant, and left

behind him the marks of his feet: to this animal, whatſoever it be, they conſecrate the creature newly born, as to its god, which he is bound to worſhip all his life, eſteeming the ſaid beaſt his patron and protector. They offer to their gods ſacrifices of fire, wherein they burn a certain gum, called by them Copal, whoſe ſmoke ſmells very deliciouſly. When the infant is grown up, the parents thereof thereof tell him who he ought to worſhip, ſerve, and honour as his own proper god; then he goes to the temple, where he makes offerings to the ſaid beaſt. Afterwards, if in the courſe of his life, any one injure him, or any evil happen to him, he complains to that beaſt, and ſacrifices to it for revenge. Hence it often comes, that thoſe who have done the injury of which he complains, are bitten, killed, or otherwiſe hurt by ſuch animals.

After this ſuperſtitious and idolatrous manner live thoſe miſerable and ignorant Indians that inhabit the iſlands of the gulph of Honduras; as alſo many of them on the continent of Jucatan, in the territories whereof are moſt excellent ports, where thoſe Indians moſt commonly build their houſes. Theſe people are not very faithful to one another, and uſe ſtrange ceremonies at their marriages. Whenſoever any one pretends to marry a young damſel, he firſt applies himſelf to her father or neareſt relation: he examines him nicely about the manner of cultivating their plantations, and other things, at his pleaſure. Having ſatisfied the queſtions of his father in-law, he gives the young man a bow and arrow, with which he repairs to the young maid, and preſents her with a garland of green leaves and ſweet-ſmelling flowers; this ſhe is obliged to put on her head, and lay aſide that which ſhe wore before, it being the cuſtom for virgins to go perpetually crowned with flowers. This

garland

garland being received and put on her head, every one of the relations and friends go to adviſe with others, whether that marriage will be like to be happy or not; then they meet at the houſe of the damſel's father, where they drink of a liquor made of maize, or Indian wheat; and here, before the whole company, the father gives his daughter in marriage to the bridegroom. Next day the bride comes to her mother, and in her preſence pulls off the garland, and tears it in pieces, with great cries and lamentations. Many other things I could relate of the manner of living and cuſtoms of thoſe Indians, but I ſhall follow my diſcourſe.

Our pirates therefore had many canoes of the Indians in the iſle of Sambale, five leagues from the coaſts of Jucatan. Here is a great quantity of amber, but eſpecially when any ſtorm ariſes from towards the eaſt; whence the waves bring many things, and very different. Through this ſea no veſſels can paſs, unleſs very ſmall, it being too ſhallow. In the lands that are ſurrounded by this ſea is found much Campeachy wood, and other things that ſerve for dying, much eſteemed in Europe, and would be more, if we had the ſkill of the Indians, who make a dye or tincture that never fades.

The pirates having been in that gulph three months, and receiving advice that the Spaniſh ſhip was come, haſtened to the port where the Spaniſh ſhip lay at anchor unlading his merchandize, with deſign to aſſault her as ſoon as poſſible; but firſt, they thought convenient to ſend away ſome of their boats to ſeek for a ſmall veſſel alſo expected, very richly laden with plate, indigo, and cochineal. Mean while, the ſhip's crew having notice that the pirates deſigned upon them, prepared all things for a good defence, being mounted with 42 guns, well furniſhed with arms and other

neceſſaries, and 130 fighting men. To Lolonois all this ſeemed but little, for he aſſaulted her with great courage, his own ſhip carrying but 22 guns, and having no more than a ſmall ſiety or fly-boat for help: but the Spaniards defended themſelves ſo well, as they forced the pirates to retire; but the ſmoke of the powder continuing thick, as a dark fog or miſt, with four canoes well manned they boarded the ſhip with great agility, and forced the Spaniards to ſurrender.

The ſhip being taken, they found not in her what they thought, being already almoſt unladen. All they got was only fifty bars of iron, a ſmall parcel of paper, ſome earthen jars of wine, and other things of ſmall importance.

Then Lolonois called a council of war, and told them he intended for Guatamala: hereupon they divided into ſeveral ſentiments, ſome liking the propoſal, and others diſliking it, eſpecially a party of them who were but raw in thoſe exerciſes, and who imagined, at their ſetting forth from Tortuga, that pieces of eight were gathered as eaſily as pears from a tree; but finding moſt things contrary to their expectation, they quitted the fleet, and returned; others affirmed they had rather ſtarve than return home without a great deal of money.

But the major part judging the propounded voyage little to their purpoſe, ſeparated from Lolonois and the reſt: of theſe one Moſes Vanclein was ringleader, captain of the ſhip taken at Puerto Cavallo: this fellow ſteered for Tortuga, to ſteer to and fro in theſe ſeas: with him joined another comrade of his, by name Pierre le Picard, who ſeeing the reſt leave Lolonois, thought fit to do the ſame. Theſe run-aways having thus parted company, ſteered homewards, coaſting along the continent till they came to Coſta Rica; here they landed a ſtrong party

party nigh the river Veraguas, and marched in good order to the town of the ſame name; this they took and totally pillaged, though the Spaniards made a ſtrong reſiſtance. They brought away ſome of the inhabitants as priſoners, with all that they had, which was of no great importance, by reaſon of the poverty of the place, which exerciſeth no other trade than working in the mines, where ſome of the inhabitants conſtantly attend, while none ſeek for gold, but only ſlaves: theſe they compel to dig and waſh the earth in the neighbouring rivers, where often they find pieces of gold as big as peas. The pirates gaining in this adventure but ſeven or eight pound weight of gold, they returned, giving over the deſign to go to the town of Nata, ſituate on the coaſts of the South-Sea, whoſe inhabitants are rich merchants, and their ſlaves work in the mines of Veraguas; being deterred by the multitude of Spaniards gathered on all ſides to fall upon them, whereof they had timely advice.

Lolonois thus left by his companions, remained alone in the gulph of Honduras. His ſhip being too great to get out at the reflux of thoſe ſeas, there he ſuſtained great want of proviſions, ſo as they were conſtrained to go aſhore every day to ſeek ſuſtenance, and not finding any thing elſe, they were forced to kill and eat monkies and other animals, ſuch as they could find.

At laſt, in the altitude of the cape of Gracias a Dios, near a certain little iſland called de las Pertas, his ſhip ſtruck on a bank of ſand, where it ſtuck ſo faſt, as no art could get her off again, though they unladed all the guns, iron, and other weighty things, as much as they could. Hereupon they were forced to break the ſhip in pieces, and with planks and nails build themſelves a boat to get away;

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and while they are buſy about it, I ſhall deſcribe the ſaid iſles and their inhabitants.

The iſlands de las Pertas are inhabited by ſavage Indians, not having known or converſed with civil people: they are tall and very nimble, running almoſt as faſt as horſes; at diving alſo they are very dextrous and hardy. From the bottom of the ſea I ſaw them take up an anchor of 600 weight, tying a cable to it with great dexterity, and pulling it from a rock. Their arms are made of wood, without any iron point; but ſome inſtead thereof uſe a crocodile's tooth. They have no bows nor arrows, as the other Indians have, but their common weapon is a ſort of lance a fathom and a half long. Here are many plantations ſurrounded with woods, whence they gather abundance of fruits, as potatoes, bananas, racoven, ananas, and many others. They have no houſes to dwell in, as at other places in the Indies. Some ſay they eat human fleſh, which is confirmed by what happened when Lolonois was there. Two of his companions, one a Frenchman and the other a Spaniard, went into the woods, where having ſtraggled a while, a troop of Indians purſued them. They defended themſelves as well as they could with their ſwords, but at laſt were forced to flee. The nimble Frenchman eſcaped, but the Spaniard, being not ſo ſwift, was taken and heard of no more. Some days after, twelve pirates ſet forth very well armed, to ſeek their companion, among whom was the Frenchman, who conducted them, and ſhewed them the place where he left him; here they found that the Indians had kindled a fire, and at a ſmall diſtance they found a man's bones well roaſted, with ſome pieces of fleſh ill ſcraped off the bones, and one hand, which had only two fingers remaining; whence

whence they concluded they had roaſted the poor Spaniard.

They marched on, ſeeking for Indians, and found a great number together, who endeavoured to eſcape, but they overtook ſome of them, and brought aboard their ſhips five men and four women; with theſe they took much pains to make themſelves be underſtood, and to gain their affections, giving them trifles, as knives, beads, and the like; they gave them alſo victuals and drink, but nothing would they taſte. It was alſo obſervable, that while they were priſoners they ſpoke not one word to each other; ſo that ſeeing theſe poor Indians were much afraid, they preſented them again with ſome ſmall things, and let them go. When they parted, they made ſigns that they would come again; but they ſoon forgot their benefactors, and were never heard of more; neither could any notice afterwards be had of theſe Indians, nor any others in the whole iſland; which made the pirates ſuſpect that both thoſe that were taken, and all the reſt of the iſlanders ſwam away by night to ſome little neighbouring iſlands, eſpecially conſidering they could never ſet eyes on any Indian more, nor any boat or other veſſel. Mean while the pirates were very deſirous to ſee their long-boat finiſhed out of the timber that ſtruck on the ſands; yet conſidering their work would be long, they began to cultivate ſome pieces of ground: here they ſowed French beans, which ripened in ſix weeks, and many other fruits. They had good proviſion of Spaniſh wheat, bananas, racoven, and other things; with the wheat they made bread, and baked it in portable ovens brought with them. Thus they feared not hunger in thoſe deſart places, employing themſelves thus for five or ſix months; which paſt, and the long-boat finiſhed, they reſolved for the

river of Nicaragua, to ſee if they could take ſome canoes, and return to the ſaid iſlands for their companions that remained behind, by reaſon the boat could not hold ſo many men together: hereupon, to avoid diſputes, they caſt lots; determining who ſhould go or ſtay.

The lot fell on one half of the people of the loſt veſſel, who embarked in the long-boat, and on the ſkiff which they had before, the other half remaining aſhore. Lolonois having ſet ſail, arrived in few days at the river of Nicaragua: here that ill fortune aſſailed him which of long time had been reſerved for him, as a puniſhment due to the multitude of horrible crimes committed in his licentious and wicked life. Here he met with both Spaniards and Indians, who jointly ſetting upon him and his companions, the greateſt part of the pirates were killed on the place. Lolonois, with thoſe that remained alive, had much ado to eſcape aboard their boats: yet notwithſtanding this great loſs, he reſolved not to return to thoſe he had left at the iſle of Pertas, without taking ſome boats, ſuch as he looked for. To this effect he determined to go on to the coaſts of Carthagena; but God Almighty, the time of his divine juſtice being now come, had appointed the Indians of Darien to be the inſtruments and executioners thereof. Theſe Indians of Darien are eſteemed as bravoes, or wild ſavage Indians, by the neighbouring Spaniards, who never could civilize them. Hither Lolonois came (brought by his evil conſcience that cried for puniſhment) thinking to act his cruelties; but the Indians, within a few days after his arrival, took him priſoner, and tore him in pieces alive, throwing his body limb by limb into the fire, and his aſhes into the air, that no trace or memory might remain of ſuch an infamous inhuman creature. One of his companions

companions gave me an exact account of this tragedy, affirming that himself had escaped the same punishment with the greatest difficulty: he believed also that many of his comrades, who were taken in that rencounter by those Indians, were, as their cruel captain, torn in pieces and burnt alive. Thus ends the history, the life, and miserable death of that infernal wretch Lolonois, who, full of horrid, execrable, and enormous deeds, and debtor to so much innocent blood, died by cruel and butcherly hands, such as his own were in the course of his life.

Those that remained in the island de las Pertas, waiting for the return of them who got away only to their great misfortune, hearing no news of their captain nor companions, at last embarked on the ship of a certain pirate, who happened to pass that way. This fellow came from Jamaica, with intent to land at Gracias a Dios, and from thence to enter the river with his canoes, and take the city of Carthagena. These two crews of pirates being now joined, were infinitely glad at the presence and society of one another; those, because they found themselves delivered from the miseries, poverty, and necessities, wherein they had lived ten entire months; these, because they were now considerably strengthened, to effect with greater satisfaction their designs. Hereupon, as soon as they were arrived at Gracios a Dios, they all put themselves into canoes, and entered the river, being 500 men, leaving only five or six persons in each ship to keep them. They took no provisions, being persuaded they should find every where sufficient: but these their hopes were found totally vain, not being grounded on Almighty God; for he ordained it so, that the Indians, aware of their coming, all fled, not leaving in their houses or plantations, which for

the moſt part border on the ſides of rivers, any neceſſary proviſions or victuals: hereby, in a few days after they had quitted their ſhips, they were reduced to moſt extreme neceſſity and hunger; but their hopes of making their fortunes very ſoon, animating them for the preſent, they contented themſelves with a few green herbs, ſuch as they could gather on the banks of the river.

Yet all this courage and vigour laſted but a fortnight, when their hearts as well as bodies began to fail for hunger; inſomuch as they were forced to quit the river, and betake themſelves to the woods, ſeeking out ſome villages where they might find relief; but all in vain; for having ranged up and down the woods for ſome days, without finding the leaſt comfort, they were forced to return to the river, where being come, they thought convenient to deſcend to the ſea-coaſt where they had left their ſhips, not having been able to find what they ſought for. In this laborious journey they were reduced to ſuch extremity, that many of them devoured their own ſhoes, the ſheaths of their ſwords, knives, and other ſuch things, being almoſt ravenous, and eager to meet ſome Indians, intending to ſacrifice them to their teeth. At laſt they arrived at the ſea-coaſt, where they found ſome comfort and relief to their former miſeries, and alſo means to ſeek more; yet the greateſt part periſhed through faintneſs, and other diſeaſes contracted by hunger, which alſo cauſed the remaining part to diſperſe, till at laſt, by degrees, many or moſt of them fell into the ſame pit that Lolonois did; of whom, and of whoſe companions, having given a compendious narrative, I ſhall continue with the actions and exploits of Captain Henry Morgan, who may deſervedly be called the ſecond Lolonois, not being unlike or inferior to him, either in atchievements

ments againſt the Spaniards, or in robberies of many innocent people.

CHAP. XI.

The origin and deſcent of Captain Henry Morgan; his exploits, and the moſt remarkable actions of his life.

CAPTAIN Henry Morgan was born in Great Britain, in the principality of Wales; his father was a rich yeoman, or farmer, of good quality, even as moſt who bear that name in Wales are known to be. Morgan, when young, had no inclination to the calling of his father, and therefore left his country, and came towards the ſea-coaſts to ſeek ſome other employment more ſuitable to his aſpiring humour; where he found ſeveral ſhips at anchor, bound for Barbadoes: with theſe he reſolved to go in the ſervice of one, who, according to the practice of thoſe parts, ſold him as ſoon as he came aſhore. He ſerved his time at Barbadoes, and obtaining his liberty, betook himſelf to Jamaica, there to ſeek new fortunes: here he found two veſſels of pirates ready to go to ſea; and being deſtitute of employment, he went with them, with intent to follow the exerciſes of that ſort of people: he ſoon learned their manner of living ſo exactly, that having performed three or four voyages with profit and ſucceſs, he agreed with ſome of his comrades, who had got by the ſame voyages a little money, to join ſtocks, and buy a ſhip. The veſſel being bought, they unanimouſly choſe him captain and commander.

With this ſhip he ſet forth from Jamaica to cruize on the coaſts of Campeachy, in which voyage he took ſeveral ſhips, with which he returned triumphant. Here he found an old pirate, named

Manſvelt (whom we have already mentioned) buſied in equipping a conſiderable fleet, with deſign to land on the continent, and pillage whatever he could. Manſvelt ſeeing Captain Morgan return with ſo many prizes, judged him to be a man of courage, and choſe him for his vice-admiral in that expedition: thus having fitted out fifteen ſhips, great and ſmall, they ſailed from Jamaica with 500 men, Walloons and French. This fleet arrived, not long after, at the iſle of St. Catherine, near the continent of Coſta Rica, latitude 12 deg. 30 min. and diſtant 35 leagues from the river Chagre. Here they made their firſt deſcent, landing moſt of their men, who ſoon forced the gariſon that kept the iſland to ſurrender all the forts and caſtles thereof, which they inſtantly demoliſhed, except one, wherein they placed 100 men of their own party, and all the ſlaves they had taken from the Spaniards: with the reſt of their men they marched to another ſmall iſland, ſo near St. Catherine's, that with a bridge they made in a few days, they paſſed thither, taking with them all the ordnance they had taken on the great iſland. Having ruined with fire and ſword both the iſlands, leaving neceſſary orders at the ſaid caſtle, they put to ſea again with their Spaniſh priſoners; yet theſe they ſet aſhore not long after, on the firm land, near Puerto Velo: then they cruized on Coſta Rica, till they came to the river Colla, deſigning to pillage all the towns in thoſe parts, thence to paſs to the village of Nata, to do the ſame.

The governor of Panama, on advice of their arrival, and of the hoſtilities they committed, thought it his duty to meet them with a body of men. His coming cauſed the pirates to retire ſuddenly, ſeeing the whole country was alarmed, and that their deſigns were known, and conſequently defeated at that time. Hereupon they returned to St. Catharine's,

to

to viſit the hundred men they had left in garriſon there. The governor of theſe men was a Frenchman, named Le Sieur Simon, who behaved himſelf very well in that charge, while Manſvelt was abſent, having put the great iſland in a very good poſture of defence, and the little one he had cauſed to be cultivated with many fertile plantations, ſufficient to revictual the whole fleet, not only for the preſent, but alſo for a new voyage. Manſvelt was very much bent to keep theſe two iſlands in perpetual poſſeſſion, being very commodiouſly ſituated for the pirates; being ſo near the Spaniſh dominions, and eaſily defended, as I ſhall repreſent in the third part of this hiſtory.

Hereupon Manſvelt determined to return to Jamaica, to ſend recruits to St. Catharine's, that in caſe of an invaſion the pirates might be provided for a defence. As ſoon as he arrived, he propounded his intentions to the governor there, who rejected his propoſitions, fearing to diſpleaſe his maſter, the king of England; beſides, that giving him the men he deſired, and neceſſaries, he muſt of neceſſity diminiſh the forces of that iſland, whereof he was governor. Hereupon Manſvelt, knowing that of himſelf he could not compaſs his deſigns, he went to Tortuga; but there, before he could put in execution what was intended, death ſurprized him, and put a period to his wicked life, leaving all things in ſuſpenſe, till the occaſion I ſhall hereafter relate.

Le Sieur Simon, governor of St. Catherine's, receiving no news from Manſvelt, his admiral, was impatiently deſirous to know the cauſe thereof; mean while, Don John Perez de Guzman, being newly come to the government of Coſta Rica, thought it not convenient for the intereſt of Spain for that iſland to be in the hands of the pirates:

hereupon

hereupon he equipped a conſiderable fleet, which he ſent to retake it; but before he uſed violence, he writ a letter to Le Sieur Simon, telling him, that if he would ſurrender the iſland to his Catholick Majeſty, he ſhould be very well rewarded; but, in caſe of refuſal, ſeverely puniſhed, when he had forced him to do it. Le Sieur Simon, ſeeing no probability of being able to defend it alone, nor any emolument that by ſo doing could accrue either to him, or his people, after ſome ſmall reſiſtance delivered it up to its true lord and maſter, under the ſame articles they had obtained it from the Spaniards; a few days after which ſurrender, there arrived from Jamaica an Engliſh ſhip, which the governor there had ſent under-hand, with a good ſupply of people, both men and women: the Spaniards from the caſtle having eſpied the ſhip, put forth Engliſh colours, and perſuaded Le Sieur Simon to go aboard, and conduct the ſhip into a port they aſſigned him. This he performed, and they were all made priſoners. A certain Spaniſh engineer has publiſhed in print an exact relation of the retaking of this iſle by the Spaniards, which I have thought fit to inſert here.

A true relation, and particular account of the victory obtained by the arms of his Catholick Majeſty againſt the Engliſh pirates, by the direction and valour of Don John Perez de Guzman, knight of the order of St. James, governor and captain-general of Terra Firma, and the province of Veraguas.

THE kingdom of Terra Firma, which of itſelf is ſufficiently ſtrong to repel and deſtroy great fleets, eſpecially the pirates of Jamaica, had ſeveral ways notice imparted to the governor thereof, that fourteen Engliſh veſſels cruized on the coaſts belonging

ing to his Catholick Majeſty. July 14, 1665, news came to Panama, that they were arrived at Puerto de Naos, and had forced the Spaniſh garriſon of the iſle of St. Catharine, whoſe governor was Don Eſtevan del Campo, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſaid iſland, taking priſoners the inhabitants, and deſtroying all that they met. About the ſame time, Don John Perez de Guzman received particular information of theſe robberies from ſome Spaniards who eſcaped out of the iſland (and whom he ordered to be conveyed to Puerto Velo) that the ſaid pirates came into the iſland May 2, by night, without being perceived; and that the next day, after ſome ſkirmiſhes, they took the fortreſſes, and made priſoners all the inhabitants and ſoldiers that could not eſcape. Upon this, Don John called a council of war, wherein he declared the great progreſs the ſaid pirates had made in the dominions of his Catholick Majeſty; and propounded, 'that it was abſolutely 'neceſſary to ſend ſome forces to the iſle of St. Ca'tharine, ſufficient to retake it from the pirates, 'the honour and intereſt of his majeſty of Spain 'being very narrowly concerned herein; otherwiſe 'the pirates by ſuch conqueſts might eaſily, in courſe 'of time, poſſeſs themſelves of all the countries there'abouts.' To this ſome made anſwer, 'that the 'pirates, not being able to ſubſiſt in the ſaid iſland, 'would of neceſſity conſume and waſte themſelves, 'and be forced to quit it, without any neceſſity of 'retaking it: that conſequently it was not worth 'the while to engage in ſo many expences and 'troubles as this would coſt.' Notwithſtanding which, Don John being an expert and valiant ſoldier, ordered that proviſions ſhould be conveyed to Puerto Velo for the uſe of the militia, and tranſported himſelf thither, with no ſmall danger of his life. Here he arrived July 2, with moſt things neceſſary

ceſſary to the expedition in hand, where he found in the port a good ſhip, and well mounted, called the St. Vincent, that belonged to the company of the negroes, which he manned and victualled very well, and ſent to the iſle of St. Catharine, conſtituting Captain Joſeph Sanchez Jimenez, major of Puerto Velo, commander thereof. He carried with him 270 ſoldiers, and 37 priſoners of the ſame iſland, beſide 34 Spaniards of the garriſon of Puerto Velo, 29 mulattoes of Panama, 12 Indians, very dextrous at ſhooting with bows and arrows, ſeven expert and able gunners, two lieutenants, two pilots, one ſurgeon, and one religious, of the order of St. Francis, for their chaplain.

Don John ſoon after gave orders to all the officers how to behave themſelves, telling them that the governor of Carthagena would ſupply them with more men, boats, and all things elſe neceſſary for that enterprize; to which effect he had already written to the ſaid governor. July 24, Don John ſetting ſail with a fair wind, he called before him all his people, and made them a ſpeech, encouraging them to fight againſt the enemies of their country and religion, and eſpecially againſt thoſe inhuman pirates, who had committed ſo many horrid cruelties upon the ſubjects of his Catholick Majeſty; withal, promiſing every one moſt liberal rewards, eſpecially to ſuch as ſhould behave themſelves well in the ſervice of their king and country. Thus Don John bid them farewel, and the ſhip ſet ſail under a favourable gale. The 22d they arrived at Carthagena, and preſented a letter to the governor thereof from the noble and valiant Don John, who received it with teſtimonies of great affection to the perſon of Don John, and his majeſty's ſervice: and ſeeing the reſolution to be conformable to his deſires, he promiſed them his aſſiſtance, with one frigate, one galleon, one boat, and 126 men; one half out of his

his own garriſon, and the other half mulattoes. Thus being well provided with neceſſaries, they left the port of Carthagena Auguſt 2, and the 10th they arrived in ſight of St. Catharine's, towards the weſtern point thereof; and though the wind was contrary, yet they reached the port, and anchored within it, having loſt one of their boats by foul weather, at the rock called Quita Signos.

The pirates, ſeeing our ſhips come to an anchor, gave them preſently three guns with bullets, which were ſoon anſwered in the ſame coin. Hereupon, Major Joſeph Sanchez Ximenez ſent aſhore to the pirates one of his officers to require them, in the name of the Catholick king his maſter, to ſurrender the iſland, ſeeing they had taken it in the midſt of peace between the two crowns of Spain and England; and that if they would be obſtinate, he would certainly put them all to the ſword. The pirates made anſwer, that the iſland had once before belonged unto the government and dominions of the king of England, and that inſtead of ſurrendering it they preferred to loſe their lives.

On Friday the 13th, three negroes from the enemy came, ſwimming, aboard our admiral; theſe brought intelligence, that all the pirates upon the iſland were only 72 in number, and that they were under a great conſternation, ſeeing ſuch conſiderable forces come againſt them. With this intelligence, the Spaniards reſolved to land, and advance towards the fortreſſes, which ceaſed not to fire as many great guns againſt them as they poſſibly could; which were anſwered in the ſame manner on our ſide, till dark night. On Sunday the 15th, the day of the aſſumption of our Lady, the weather being very calm and clear, the Spaniards began to advance thus: the ſhip St. Vincent, riding admiral, diſcharged two whole broadſides on the battery called

led the Conception; the ſhip St. Peter, that was vice-admiral, diſcharged likewiſe her guns againſt the other battery, named St. James: mean while, our people landed in ſmall boats, directing their courſe towards the point of the battery laſt mentioned, and thence they marched towards the gate called Cortadura. Lieutenant Francis de Cazeres, being deſirous to view the ſtrength of the enemy, with only 15 men, was compelled to retreat in haſte, by reaſon of the great guns, which played ſo furiouſly on the place where he ſtood; they ſhooting, not only pieces of iron, and ſmall bullets, but alſo the organs of the church, diſcharging in every ſhot threeſcore pipes at a time.

Notwithſtanding this heat of the enemy, captain Don Joſeph Ramirez de Leyva, with 60 Men, made a ſtrong attack, wherein they fought on both ſides very deſperately, till at laſt he overcame, and forced the pirates to ſurrender the fort.

On the other ſide, Captain John Galeno, with 90 men, paſſed over the hills, to advance that way towards the caſtle of St. Tereſa; mean while, Major Don Joſeph Sanchez Ximenez, as commander in chief, with the reſt of his men, ſet forth from the battery of St. James, paſſing the port with four boats, and landing in deſpite of the enemy. About this ſame time Captain John Galeno began to advance with the men he led to the fore-mentioned fortreſs; ſo that our men made three attacks on three ſeveral ſides, at one and the ſame time, with great courage; till the pirates ſeeing many of their men already killed, and that they could in no manner ſubſiſt any longer, retreated towards Cortadura, where they ſurrendered themſelves, and the whole iſland, into our hands. Our people poſſeſſed themſelves of all, and ſet up the Spaniſh colours, as ſoon as they had rendered thanks to God Almighty for the victory obtained

obtained on ſuch a ſignalized day. The number of dead were ſix men of the enemies, with many wounded, and ſeventy priſoners: on our ſide was only one man killed and four wounded.

There were found on the iſland 800 pounds of powder, 250 pounds of ſmall bullets, with many other military proviſions. Among the priſoners were taken alſo two Spaniards, who had bore arms under the Engliſh againſt his Catholick Majeſty: theſe were ſhot to death the next day by order of the major. The 10th day of September arrived at the iſle an Engliſh veſſel, which being ſeen at a great diſtance by the major, he ordered Le Sieur Simon, who was a Frenchman, to go and viſit the ſaid ſhip, and tell them that were on board, that the iſland ſtill belonged to the Engliſh. He performed the command, and found in the ſaid ſhip only 14 men, one woman and her daughter, who were all inſtantly made priſoners.

The Engliſh pirates were all tranſported to Puerto Velo, excepting three, who by order of the governor were carried to Panama, there to work in the caſtle of St. Jerom. This fortification is an excellent piece of workmanſhip, and very ſtrong, being raiſed in the middle of the port of a quadrangular form, and of very hard ſtone: its height is 88 geometrical feet, the wall being 14, and the curtains 75 feet diameter. It was built at the expence of ſeveral private perſons, the governor of the city furniſhing the greateſt part of the money; ſo that it coſt his majeſty nothing.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the iſland of Cuba. Captain Morgan attempts to preſerve the iſle of St. Catharine as a refuge to the neſt of pirates; but fails of his deſign. He arrives at, and takes the village of el Puerto del Principe.

CAPTAIN Morgan ſeeing his predeceſſor and admiral Manſvelt were dead, uſed all the means that were poſſible, to keep in poſſeſſion the iſle of St. Catharine, ſeated near Cuba. His chief intent was to make it a refuge and ſanctuary to the pirates of thoſe parts, putting it in a condition of being a convenient receptacle of their preys and robberies. To this effect he left no ſtone unmoved, writing to ſeveral merchants in Virginia and New-England, perſuading them to ſend him proviſions and neceſſaries, towards putting the ſaid iſland in ſuch a poſture of defence, as to fear no danger of invaſion from any ſide. But all this proved ineffectual, by the Spaniards retaking the ſaid iſland: yet Captain Morgan retained his courage, which put him on new deſigns. Firſt, he equipped a ſhip, in order to gather a fleet as great, and as ſtrong as he could. By degrees he effected it, and gave orders to every member of his fleet to meet at a certain port of Cuba, there determining to call a council, and deliberate what was beſt to be done, and what place firſt to fall upon. Leaving theſe preparations in this condition, I ſhall give my reader ſome ſmall account of the ſaid iſle of Cuba, in whoſe port this expedition was hatched, ſeeing I omitted to do it in its proper place.

Cuba lies from eaſt to weſt, in north latitude, 1 20 to 23 deg. in length 150 German leagues, and about

about 40 in breadth. Its fertility is equal to that of Hiſpaniola; beſides which, it affords many things proper for trading and commerce; ſuch as hides of ſeveral beaſts, particularly thoſe that in Europe are called hides of Havanna. On all ſides it is ſurrounded with many ſmall iſlands, called the Cayos: theſe little iſlands the pirates uſe as ports of refuge. Here they have their meetings, and hold their councils, how beſt to aſſault the Spaniards. It is watered on all ſides with plentiful and pleaſant rivers, whoſe entries form both ſecure and ſpacious ports, beſides many other harbours for ſhips, which along the calm ſhores and coaſts adorn this rich and beautiful iſland; all which contribute much to its happineſs, by facilitating trade, whereto they invited both natives and aliens. The chief of theſe ports are San Jago, Byame, Santa Maria, Eſpiritu Santo, Trinidad, Zagoa, Cabo de Corientes, and others, on the ſouth ſide of the iſland; on the north ſide are, La Havanna, Puerto Mariano, Santa Cruz, Mata Ricos, and Barracoa.

This iſland hath two chief cities, to which all the towns and villages thereof give obedience. The firſt is Santa Jago, or St. James, ſeated on the ſouth-ſide, and having under its juriſdiction one half of the iſland. The chief magiſtrates hereof are a biſhop and a governor, who command the villages and towns of the ſaid half. The chief of theſe are, on the ſouth-ſide, Eſpiritu Santo, Puerto del Principe, and Bayame. On the north it has Barracoa, and De los Cayos. The greateſt part of the commerce driven here comes from the Canaries, whither they tranſport much tobacco, ſugar, and hides, which ſort of merchandize are drawn to the head city from the ſubordinate towns and villages. Formerly this city of St. Jago was miſerably ſacked by the pirates of Jamaica and Tortuga, though it is defended by a conſiderable caſtle.

The city and port de la Havanna lie between the north and weſt ſide of the iſland: this is one of the ſtrongeſt places of the Weſt-Indies; its juriſdiction extends over the other half of the iſland; the chief places under it being Santa Cruz on the north ſide, and la Trinidad on the ſouth. Hence is tranſported huge quantities of tobacco, which is ſent to New-Spain and Coſta Rica, even as far as the South-Sea, beſides many ſhips laden with this commodity, that are conſigned to Spain and other parts of Europe, not only in the leaf but in rolls. This city is defended by three caſtles, very great and ſtrong, two of which lie towards the port, and the other is ſeated on a hill that commands the town. It is eſteemed to contain about 10,000 families. The merchants of this place trade in New-Spain, Campeachy, Honduras, and Florida. All ſhips that come from the parts before-mentioned, as alſo from the Caraccas, Carthagena, and Coſta Rica, are neceſſitated to take their proviſions in at Havanna to make their voyage for Spain; this being the neceſſary and ſtrait courſe they muſt ſteer for the ſouth of Europe, and other parts. The plate-fleet of Spain, which the Spaniards call Flota, being homeward bound, touches here yearly to complete their cargo with hides, tobacco, and Campeachy wood.

Captain Morgan had been but two months in theſe ports of the ſouth of Cuba, when he had got together a fleet of twelve ſail, between ſhips and great boats, with 700 fighting men, part Engliſh and part French. They called a council, and ſome adviſed to aſſault the city of Havanna in the night, which they ſaid might eaſily be done, if they could but take any few of the eccleſiaſticks; yea, that the city might be ſacked before the caſtles could put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Others propounded, according to their ſeveral opinions, other attempts;

attempts; but the former propoſal was rejected, becauſe many of the pirates, who had been priſoners at other times in the ſaid city, affirmed nothing of conſequence could be done with leſs than 1500 men. Moreover, that with all theſe people, they ought to go firſt to the iſland de los Pinos, and land them in ſmall boats about Matamona, fourteen leagues from the ſaid city, whereby to accompliſh their deſigns.

Finally, they ſaw no poſſibility of gathering ſo great a fleet, and hereupon, with what they had, they concluded to attempt ſome other place. Among the reſt one propounded they ſhould aſſault the town of el Puerto del Principe. This propoſition he perſuaded to, by ſaying he knew that place very well, and that being at a diſtance from ſea, it never was ſacked by any pirates, whereby the inhabitants were rich, exerciſing their trade by ready money, with thoſe of Havanna, who kept here an eſtabliſhed commerce, chiefly in hides. This propoſal was preſently admitted by Captain Morgan, and the chief of his companions. Hereupon they ordered every captain to weigh anchor and ſet ſail, ſteering towards that coaſt neareſt to el Puerto del Principe. Here is a bay named by the Spaniards el Puerto de Santa Maria: being arrived at this bay, a Spaniard, who was priſoner aboard the fleet, ſwam aſhore by night to the town of el Puerto del Principe, giving an account to the inhabitants of the deſign of the pirates, which he overheard in their diſcourſe, while they thought he did not underſtand Engliſh. The Spaniards upon this advice began to hide their riches, and carry away the moveables; the governor immediately raiſed all the people of the town, freemen and ſlaves, and with part of them took a poſt by which of neceſſity the pirates muſt paſs. and commanded many trees to be cut down

and

and laid acroſs the ways to hinder their paſſage, placing ſeveral ambuſcades, ſtrengthened with ſome pieces of cannon to play upon them on their march. He gathered in all about 800 men, of which detaching part into the ſaid ambuſcades, with the reſt he begirt the town, drawing them up in a ſpacious field, whence they could ſee the coming of the pirates at length.

Captain Morgan with his men, now on the march, found the avenues of the town unpaſſable; hereupon they took their way through the wood, traverſing it with great difficulty, whereby they eſcaped divers ambuſcades; at laſt they came to the plain, from its figure called by the Spaniards la Savanna, or the Sheet. The governor ſeeing them come, detached a troop of horſe to charge them in the front, thinking to diſperſe them, and to purſue them with his main body; but this deſign ſucceeded not, for the pirates marched in very good order, at the ſound of their drums, and with flying colours; coming near the horſe they drew into a ſemi-circle, and ſo advanced towards the Spaniards, who charged them violently for a while; but the pirates being very dextrous at their arms, and their governor, with many of their companions, being killed, they retreated towards the wood, to ſave themſelves with more advantage; but before they could reach it, moſt of them were unfortunately killed by the pirates. Thus they left the victory to theſe new-come enemies, who had no conſiderable loſs of men in the battle, and but very few wounded. The ſkirmiſh laſted four hours. They entered the town not without great reſiſtance of ſuch as were within, who defended themſelves as long as poſſible, and many ſeeing the enemy in the town, ſhut themſelves up in their own houſes, and thence made ſeveral ſhot upon the pirates; who thereupon threatened them,

them, saying, 'If you surrender not voluntarily, 'you shall soon see the town in a flame, and your 'wives and children torn in pieces before your 'faces.' Upon those menaces the Spaniards submitted to the discretion of the pirates, believing they could not continue there long.

As soon as the pirates had possessed themselves of the town, they enclosed all the Spaniards, men, women, children, and slaves, in several churches, and pillaged all the goods they could find; then they searched the country round about, bringing in daily many goods and prisoners, with much provision. With this they fell to making great cheer, after their old custom, without remembering the poor prisoners, whom they let starve in the churches, though they tormented them daily and inhumanly to make them confess where they had hid their goods, money, &c. though little or nothing was left them, not sparing the women and little children, giving them nothing to eat, whereby the greatest part perished.

Pillage and provisions growing scarce, they thought convenient to depart and seek new fortunes in other places; they told the prisoners, 'they should find 'money to ransom themselves, else they should be 'all transported to Jamaica; and beside, if they 'did not pay a second ransom for the town, they 'would turn every house in ashes.' The Spaniards hereupon nominated among themselves four fellow prisoners to go and seek for the above-mentioned contributions; but the pirates, to the intent they should return speedily with those ransoms, tormented several cruelly in their presence, before they departed. After a few days the Spaniards returned, telling captain Morgan, 'We have ran up and down, 'and searched all the neighbouring woods and places 'we most suspected, and yet have not been able

'to find any of our own party, nor conſequently 'any fruit of our embaſſy; but if you are pleaſed 'to have a little longer patience with us, we ſhall 'certainly cauſe all that you demand to be paid 'within 15 days;' which captain Morgan granted. But not long after, there came into the town ſeven or eight pirates who had been ranging in the woods and fields, and got conſiderable booty. Theſe brought amongſt other priſoners a negro, whom they had taken with letters. Captain Morgan having peruſed them, found they were from the governor of Santa Jago, being written to ſome of the priſoners, wherein he told them, 'they ſhould not make too 'much haſte to pay any ranſom for their town or 'perſons, or any other pretext; but on the con-'trary, they ſhould put off the pirates as well as 'they could with excuſes and delays, expecting to 'be relieved by him in a ſhort time, when he would 'certainly come to their aid.' Upon this intelligence captain Morgan immediately ordered all their plunder to be carried aboard; and withal, he told the Spaniards, that the very next day they ſhould pay their ranſoms, for he would not wait a moment longer, but reduce the whole town to aſhes, if they failed of the ſum he demanded.

With this intimation, captain Morgan made no mention to the Spaniards of the letters he had intercepted. They anſwered, 'that it was impoſſible 'for them to give ſuch a ſum of money in ſo ſhort 'a ſpace of time, ſeeing their fellow townſmen were 'not to be found in all the country thereabouts.' Captain Morgan knew full well their intentions, but thought it not convenient to ſtay there any longer, demanding of them only 500 oxen or cows, with ſufficient ſalt to powder them, with this condition, that they ſhould carry them on board his ſhips. Thus he departed with all his men, taking with him

him only ſix of the principal priſoners as pledges. Next day the Spaniards brought the cattle and ſalt to the ſhips, and required the priſoners; but captain Morgan refuſed to deliver them, till they had helped his men to kill and ſalt the beeves: this was performed in great haſte, he not caring to ſtay there any longer, leſt he ſhould be ſurprized by the forces that were gathering againſt him; and having received all on board his veſſels, he ſet at liberty the hoſtages. Mean while there happened ſome diſſenſions between the Engliſh and the French: the occaſion was as follows; a Frenchman being employed in killing and ſalting the beeves, an Engliſh pirate took away the marrow-bones he had taken out of the ox, which theſe people eſteem much; hereupon they challenged one another: being come to the place of duel, the Engliſhman ſtabbed the Frenchman in the back, whereby he fell down dead. The other Frenchman, deſirous of revenge, made an inſurrection againſt the Engliſh; but captain Morgan ſoon appeaſed them, by putting the criminal in chains to be carried to Jamaica, promiſing he would ſee juſtice done upon him; for though he might challenge his adverſary, yet it was not lawful to kill him treacherouſly as he did.

All things being ready, and on board, and the priſoners ſet at liberty, they ſailed thence to a certain iſland, where captain Morgan intended to make a dividend of what they had purchaſed in that voyage; where being arrived, they found nigh the value of 50,000 pieces of eight in money and goods; the ſum being known, it cauſed a general grief to ſee ſuch a ſmall purchaſe, not ſufficient to pay their debts at Jamaica. Hereupon captain Morgan propoſed they ſhould think on ſome other enterprize and pillage before they returned. But the French not being able to agree with the Engliſh, left captain

Morgan with thoſe of his own nation, notwithſtanding all the perſuaſions he uſed to reduce them to continue in his company. Thus they parted with all external ſigns of friendſhip, captain Morgan reiterating his promiſes to them, that he would ſee juſtice done on that criminal. This he performed, for being arrived at Jamaica, he cauſed him to be hanged, which was all the ſatisfaction the French pirates could expect.

CHAP. XIII.

Captain Morgan reſolving to attack and plunder the city of Puerto Bello, equips a fleet, and with little expence and ſmall forces takes it

SOME may think that the French having deſerted captain Morgan, the Engliſh alone could not have ſufficient courage to attempt ſuch great actions as before. But captain Morgan, who always communicated vigour with his words, infuſed ſuch ſpirit into his men, as put them inſtantly upon new deſigns; they being all perſuaded that the ſole execution of his orders would be a certain means of obtaining great riches, which ſo influenced their minds, that with inimitable courage they all reſolved to follow him, as did alſo a certain pirate of Campeachy, who on this occaſion joined with captain Morgan, to ſeek new fortunes under his conduct. Thus captain Morgan in a few days gathered a fleet of nine ſail, either ſhips or great boats, wherein he had 460 military men.

All things being ready, they put forth to ſea, captain Morgan imparting his deſign to no body at preſent; he only told them on ſeveral occaſions, that he doubted not to make a good fortune by that voyage, if ſtrange occurrences happened not. They

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ſteered towards the continent, where they arrived in a few days near Coſta Rica, all their fleet ſafe. No ooner had they diſcovered land, but captain Morgan declared his intentions to the captains, and preſently after to the company. He told them he intended to plunder Puerto Bello by night, being reſolved to put the whole city to the ſack: and to encourage them he added, this enterprize could not fail, ſeeing he had kept it ſecret, without revealing it to any body, whereby they could not have notice of his coming. To this propoſition ſome anſwered, they had not a ſufficient number of men to aſſault ſo ſtrong and great a city. But captain Morgan replied, 'If our number is ſmall, our hearts are 'great; and the fewer perſons we are, the more 'union and better ſhares we ſhall have in the ſpoil' Hereupon, being ſtimulated with the hope of thoſe vaſt riches they promiſed themſelves from their ſucceſs, they unanimouſly agreed to that deſign. Now, that my reader may better comprehend the boldneſs of this exploit, it may be neceſſary to ſay ſomething before-hand of the city of Puerto Bello.

This city is in the province of Coſta Rica, 10 deg. north latitude, 14 leagues from the gulf of Darien, and eight weſtwards from the port called Nombre de Dios. It is judged the ſtrongeſt place the king of Spain poſſeſſes in all the Weſt-Indies, except Havanna and Carthagena. Here are two caſtles almoſt impregnable, that defend the city, ſituate at the entry of the port, ſo that no ſhip or boat can paſs without permiſſion. The garriſon conſiſts of 300 ſoldiers, and the town is inhabited by about 400 families. The merchants dwell not here, but only reſide awhile, when the galleons come from or go for Spain, by reaſon of the unhealthineſs of the air, occaſioned by vapours from the mountains; ſo that though their chief warehouſes are at Puerto Bello,

their habitations are at Panama, whence they bring the plate upon mules, when the fair begins, and when the ſhips belonging to the company of Negroes arrive to ſell ſlaves.

Captain Morgan, who knew very well all the avenues of this city and the neighbouring coaſts, arrived in the duſk of the evening at Puerto de Naos, 10 leagues to the weſt of Puerto Bello: being come hither, they ſailed up the river to another harbour, called Puerto Pontin, where they anchored: here they put themſelves in boats and canoes, leaving in the ſhips only a few men to bring them next day to the port. About midnight they came to a place called Eſtera longa Lemos, where they all went on ſhore, and marched by land to the firſt poſts of the city: they had in their company an Engliſhman, formerly a priſoner in thoſe parts, who now ſerved them for a guide: to him and three or four more they gave commiſſion to take the centinel, if poſſible, or kill him on the place; but they ſeized him ſo cunningly, as he had no time to give warning with his muſket, or make any noiſe, and brought him, with his hands bound, to captain Morgan, who aſked him how things went in the city, and what forces they had; with other circumſtances he deſired to know. After every queſtion, they made him a thouſand menaces to kill him, if he declared not the truth. Then they advanced to the city, carrying the ſaid centinel bound before them: having marched about a quarter of a league, they came to the caſtle near the city, which preſently they cloſely ſurrounded, ſo that no perſon could get either in or out.

Being poſted under the walls of the caſtle, captain Morgan commanded the centinel, whom they had taken priſoner, to ſpeak to thoſe within, charging them to ſurrender to his diſcretion; otherwiſe they ſhould be all cut in pieces, without quarter. But they regarding none of theſe threats, began inſtantly

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to fire, which alarmed the city; yet notwithſtanding, though the governor and ſoldiers of the ſaid caſtle made as great reſiſtance as could be, they were forced to ſurrender. Having taken the caſtle, they reſolved to be as good as their words, putting the Spaniards to the ſword, thereby to ſtrike a terror into the reſt of the city. Whereupon, having ſhut up all the ſoldiers and officers as priſoners into one room, they ſet fire to the powder (whereof they found great quantity) and blew up the caſtle into the air, with all the Spaniards that were within. This done, they purſued the courſe of their victory, falling upon the city, which, as yet, was not ready to receive them. Many of the inhabitants caſt their precious jewels and money into wells and ciſterns, or hid them in places under ground, to avoid, as much as poſſible, being totally robbed. One party of the pirates, aſſigned to this purpoſe, ran immediately to the cloiſters, and took as many religious men and women as they could find. The governor of the city, not being able to rally the citizens, through their great confuſion, retired to one of the caſtles remaining, and thence fired inceſſantly at the pirates: but theſe were not in the leaſt negligent either to aſſault him, or defend themſelves; ſo that amidſt the horror of the aſſault, they made very few ſhots in vain; for aiming with great dexterity at the mouths of the guns, the Spaniards were certain to loſe one or two men every time they charged each gun a-new.

This continued very furious from break of day till noon; yea, about this time of the day the caſe was very dubious which party ſhould conquer, or be conquered. At laſt, the pirates perceiving they had loſt many men, and yet advanced but little towards the gaining either this, or the other caſtles, made uſe of fire-balls, which they threw with their hands, deſigning to burn the doors of the caſtles:

but the Spaniards from the walls let fall great quantities of ſtones, and earthen pots full of powder, and other combuſtible matter, which forced them to deſiſt. Captain Morgan ſeeing this generous defence made by the Spaniards, began to deſpair of ſucceſs. Hereupon many faint and calm meditations came into his mind; neither could he determine which way to turn himſelf in that ſtreight. Being thus puzzled, he was ſuddenly animated to continue the aſſault, by ſeeing Engliſh colours put forth at one of the leſſer caſtles, then entered by his men; of whom he preſently after ſpied a troop coming to meet him, proclaiming victory with loud ſhouts of joy. This inſtantly put him on new reſolutions of taking the reſt of the caſtles, eſpecially ſeeing the chiefeſt citizens were fled to them, and had conveyed thither great part of their riches, with all the plate belonging to the churches and divine ſervice.

To this effect he ordered ten or twelve ladders to be made in all haſte, ſo broad, that three or four men at once might aſcend them: theſe being finiſhed, he commanded all the religious men and women, whom he had taken priſoners, to fix them againſt the walls of the caſtle. This he had before threatened the governor to do, if he delivered not the caſtle: but his anſwer was, 'He would never 'ſurrender himſelf alive.' Captain Morgan was perſuaded the governor would not employ his utmoſt force, ſeeing the religious women, and eccleſiaſtical perſons, expoſed in the front of the ſoldiers to the greateſt danger. Thus the ladders, as I have ſaid, were put into the hands of religious perſons of both ſexes, and theſe were forced, at the head of the companies, to raiſe and apply them to the walls; but captain Morgan was fully deceived in his judgment of this deſign; for the governor, who acted

acted like a brave ſoldier in performance of his duty, uſed his utmoſt endeavour to deſtroy whoſoever came near the walls. The religious men and women ceaſed not to cry to him, and beg of him, by all the Saints of Heaven, to deliver the caſtle, and ſpare both his and their own lives; but nothing could prevail with his obſtinacy and fierceneſs. Thus many of the religious men and nuns were killed before they could fix the ladders; which, at laſt, being done, though with great loſs of the ſaid religious people, the pirates mounted them in great numbers, and with not leſs valour, having fire-balls in their hands, and earthen pots full of powder; all which things, being now at the top of the walls, they kindled and caſt in among the Spaniards.

This effort of the pirates was very great, inſomuch that the Spaniards could no longer reſiſt nor defend the caſtle, which was now entered. Hereupon they all threw down their arms, and craved quarter for their lives; only the governor of the city would crave no mercy, but killed many of the pirates with his own hands, and not a few of his own ſoldiers, becauſe they did not ſtand to their arms. And though the pirates aſked him if he would have quarter; yet he conſtantly anſwered, 'By no means, I had rather die as a valiant ſoldier, 'than be hanged as a coward.' They endeavoured as much as they could to take him priſoner, but he defended himſelf ſo obſtinately, that they were forced to kill him, notwithſtanding all the cries and tears of his own wife and daughter, who begged him, on their knees, to demand quarter, and ſave his life. When the pirates had poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtle, which was about night, they incloſed therein all the priſoners, placing the women and men by themſelves, with ſome guards: the wounded were put in an apartment by itſelf, that their

own complaints might be the cure of their diſeaſes; for no other was afforded them.

This done, they fell to eating and drinking as uſual; that is, committing in both all manner of debauchery and exceſs: theſe two vices were immediately followed by many inſolent actions of rape and adultery, committed on many very honeſt women, as well married as virgins; who being threatened with the ſword, were conſtrained to ſubmit their bodies to the violence of thoſe lewd and wicked men. Thus they gave themſelves up to all ſorts of debauchery, that fifty courageous men might eaſily have retaken the city, and killed all the pirates. Next day, having plundered all they could find, they examined ſome of the priſoners, (who had been perſuaded by their companions to ſay they were the richeſt of the town) charging them ſeverely to diſcover where they had hid their riches and goods. Not being able to extort any thing from them, they not being the right perſons, it was reſolved to torture them: this they did ſo cruelly, that many of them died on the rack, or preſently after. Now the preſident of Panama being adverti ſed of the pillage and ruin of Puerto Bello, he employed all his care and induſtry to raiſe forces to purſue and caſt out the pirates thence; but theſe cared little for his preparations, having their ſhips at hand, and determining to fire the city, and retreat. They had now been at Puerto Bello fifteen days, in which time they had loſt many of their men, both by the unhealthineſs of the country, and their extravagant debaucheries.

Hereupon they prepared to depart, carrying on board all the pillage they had got, having firſt provided the fleet with ſufficient victuals for the voyage. While theſe things were doing, captain Morgan demanded of the priſoners a ranſom for the city, or elſe

elſe he would burn it down, and blow up all the caſtles; withal, he commanded them to ſend ſpeedily two perſons, to procure the ſum, which was 100,000 pieces of eight. To this effect, two men were ſent to the preſident of Panama, who gave him an account of all. The preſident having now a body of men ready, ſet forth towards Puerto Bello, to encounter the pirates before their retreat; but they hearing of his coming, inſtead of flying away, went out to meet him at a narrow paſſage, which he muſt paſs: here they placed 100 men, very well armed, which at the firſt encounter put to flight a good party of thoſe of Panama. This obliged the preſident to retire for that time, not being yet in a poſture of ſtrength to proceed farther. Preſently after, he ſent a meſſage to captain Morgan, to tell him, 'that if he departed not ſuddenly with all his 'forces from Puerto Bello, he ought to expect no 'quarter for himſelf, nor his companions, when 'he ſhould take them, as he hoped ſoon to do.' Captain Morgan, who feared not his threats, knowing he had a ſecure retreat in his ſhips, which were at hand, anſwered, 'He would not deliver the 'caſtles, before he had received the contribution 'money he had demanded; which, if it were not 'paid down, he would certainly burn the whole 'city, and then leave it, demoliſhing before-hand 'the caſtles, and killing the priſoners.'

The governor of Panama perceived by this anſwer, that no means would ſerve to mollify the hearts of the pirates, nor reduce them to reaſon: hereupon he determined to leave them, as alſo thoſe of the city whom he came to relieve, involved in the difficulties of making the beſt agreement they could. Thus in a few days more the miſerable citizens gathered the contribution required, and brought 100,000 pieces of eight to the pirates for

a ranſom of their cruel captivity: but the preſident of Panama was much amazed to conſider that 400 men could take ſuch a great city, with ſo many ſtrong caſtles, eſpecially having no ordnance wherewith to raiſe batteries; and, what was more, knowing the citizens of Puerto Bello had always great repute of being good ſoldiers themſelves, and who never wanted courage in their own defence. This aſtoniſhment was ſo great, as made him ſend to captain Morgan, deſiring ſome ſmall pattern of thoſe arms wherewith he had taken with ſuch vigour ſo great a city. Captain Morgan received this meſſage very kindly, and with great civility; and gave him a piſtol, and a few ſmall bullets, to carry back to the preſident his maſter; telling him, withal, 'He 'deſired him to accept that ſlender pattern of the 'arms wherewith he had taken Puerto Bello, and 'keep them for a twelve-month; after which time 'he promiſed to come to Panama, and fetch them 'away.' The governor returned the preſent very ſoon to captain Morgan, giving him thanks for the favour of lending him ſuch weapons as he needed not; and, withal, ſent him a ring of gold, with this meſſage, 'that he deſired him not to give him-'ſelf the labour of coming to Panama, as he had 'done to Puerto Bello; for he did aſſure him, he 'ſhould not ſpeed ſo well here, as he had done 'there.'

After this, Captain Morgan (having provided his fleet with all neceſſaries, and taken with him the beſt guns of the caſtles, nailing up the reſt) ſet ſail from Puerto Bello with all his ſhips, and arriving in a few days at Cuba, he fought out a place wherein he might quickly make the dividend of their ſpoil. They found in ready money 250,000 pieces of eight, beſides other merchandizes; as cloth, linen, ſilks, &c. With this rich purchaſe they ſailed thence

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to their common place of rendezvous, Jamaica. Being arrived, they paſſed here ſome time in all ſorts of vices and debaucheries, according to their cuſtom; ſpending very prodigally what others had gained with no ſmall labour and toil.

CHAP. XIV.

Captain Morgan takes the city of Maracaibo on the coaſt of Neuva Venezuela. Piracies committed in thoſe ſeas. Ruin of three Spaniſh ſhips ſent forth to hinder the robberies of the pirates.

NOT long after their arrival at Jamaica, being that ſhort time they needed to laviſh away all the riches above-mentioned, they concluded on another enterprize to ſeek new fortunes: to this effect, captain Morgan ordered all the commanders of his ſhips to meet at De la Vacca, or the Cow Iſle, ſouth of Hiſpaniola, as is ſaid. Hither flocked to them great numbers of other pirates, French and Engliſh; the name of captain Morgan being now famous in all the neighbouring countries for his great enterprizes. There was then at Jamaica an Engliſh ſhip newly come from New England, well mounted with 36 guns: this veſſel, by order of the governor of Jamaica, joined captain Morgan to ſtrengthen his fleet, and give him greater courage to attempt mighty things. With this ſupply, captain Morgan judged himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong; but there being in the ſame place another great veſſel of 24 iron guns, and 12 braſs ones, belonging to the French, captain Morgan endeavoured alſo to join this ſhip to his own; but the French not daring to truſt the Engliſh, denied abſolutely to conſent.

The French pirates belonging to this great ſhip had met at ſea an Engliſh veſſel; and being under great

great want of victuals, they had taken ſome proviſions out of the Engliſh ſhip, without paying for them, having, perhaps, no ready money aboard; only they gave them bills of exchange for Jamaica and Tortuga, to receive money there. Captain Morgan having notice of this, and perceiving he could not prevail with the French captain to follow him, reſolved to lay hold on this occaſion, to ruin the French, and ſeek his revenge. Hereupon he invited, with diſſimulation, the French commander, and ſeveral of his men, to dine with him on board the great ſhip that was come to Jamaica, as is ſaid; being come, he made them all priſoners, pretending the injury aforeſaid done to the Engliſh veſſel.

This unjuſt action of captain Morgan was ſoon followed by divine puniſhment, as we may conceive: the manner I ſhall inſtantly relate. Captain Morgan, preſently after he had taken theſe French priſoners, called a council to deliberate what place they ſhould firſt pitch upon in this new expedition. Here it was determined to go to the iſle of Savona, to wait for the Flota then expected from Spain, and take any of the Spaniſh veſſels ſtraggling from the reſt. This reſolution being taken, they began aboard the great ſhip to feaſt one another for joy of their new voyage, and happy council, as they hoped: they drank many healths, and diſcharged many guns, the common ſign of mirth among ſeamen. Moſt of the men being drunk, by what accident is not known, the ſhip ſuddenly was blown up, with 350 Engliſhmen, beſides the French Priſoners in the hold; of all which, there eſcaped but 30 men, who were in the great cabin, at ſome diſtance from the main force of the powder. Many more, it is thought, might have eſcaped, had they not been ſo much overtaken with wine.

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This loſs brought much conſternation of mind upon the Engliſh; they knew not whom to blame, but at laſt the accuſation was laid on the French priſoners, whom they ſuſpected to have fired the powder of the ſhip out of revenge, though with the loſs of their own lives: hereupon they added new accuſations to their former, whereby to ſeize the ſhip and all that was in it, by ſaying the French deſigned to commit piracy on the Engliſh. The grounds of this accuſation were given by a commiſſion from the governor of Barracoa, found aboard the French veſſel, wherein were theſe words, 'that 'the ſaid governor did permit the French to trade 'in all Spaniſh ports, &c.—As alſo to cruiſe on the 'Engliſh pirates in what place ſoever they could 'find them, becauſe of the multitude of hoſtilities 'which they had committed againſt the ſubjects of 'his catholick majeſty in time of peace betwixt the 'two crowns.' This commiſſion for trade was interpreted as an expreſs order to exerciſe piracy and war againſt them, though it was only a bare licence for coming into the Spaniſh ports; the cloak of which permiſſion were thoſe words, 'that they ſhould 'cruiſe upon the Engliſh.' And though the French did ſufficiently expound the true ſenſe of it, yet they could not clear themſelves to captain Morgan, nor his council; but in lieu thereof, the ſhip and men were ſeized and ſent to Jamaica. Here they alſo endeavoured to obtain juſtice, and the reſtitution of their ſhip, but all in vain; for inſtead of juſtice, they were long detained in priſon, and threatened with hanging.

Eight days after the loſs of the ſaid ſhip, captain Morgan commanded the bodies of the miſerable wretches who were blown up to be ſearched for, as they floated on the ſea; not to afford them chriſtian burial, but for their clothes and attire;

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and if any had gold rings on their fingers, theſe were cut off, leaving them expoſed to the voracity of the monſters of the ſea. At laſt they ſet ſail for Savona, the place of their aſſignation. There were in all 15 veſſels, captain Morgan commanding the biggeſt, of only 14 ſmall guns; his number o men was 960. Few days after, they arrived at the Cabo de Lobos, ſouth of Hiſpaniola, between Cape Tiburon and Cape Punta de Eſpada: hence they could not paſs by reaſon of contrary winds for three weeks, notwithſtanding all the utmoſt endeavours captain Morgan uſed to get forth; then they doubled the Cape, and ſpied an Engliſh veſſel at a diſtance. Having ſpoken with her, they found ſhe came from England, and bought of her for ready money ſome proviſions they wanted.

Captain Morgan proceeded in his voyage till he came to the port of Ocoa; here he landed ſome men, ſending them into the woods to ſeek water and proviſions, the better to ſpare ſuch as he had already on board. They killed many beaſts, and among others ſome horſes. But the Spaniards, not well ſatisfied at their hunting, laid a ſtratagem for them, ordering three or four hundred men to come from Santo Domingo not far diſtant, and deſiring them to hunt in all the parts thereabout near the ſea, that ſo, if the pirates ſhould return, they might find no ſubſiſtence. Within few days the ſame pirates returned to hunt, but finding nothing to kill, a party of about fifty ſtraggled farther on into the woods. The Spaniards, who watched all their motions, gathered a great herd of cows, and ſet two or three men to keep them. The pirates having ſpied them, killed a ſufficient number; and though the Spaniards could ſee them at a diſtance, yet they would not hinder them at preſent; but as ſoon as they attempted to carry them away, they

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ſet upon them furiouſly, crying, Mata, mata, i.e. Kill, kill. Thus the pirates were compelled to quit the prey, and retreat to their ſhips; but they did it in good order, retiring by degrees, and when they had opportunity, diſcharging full vollies on the Spaniards, killing many of their enemies, tho' with ſome loſs.

The Spaniards ſeeing their damage, endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight, and carry off their dead and wounded companions. The pirates perceiving them flee, would not content themſelves with what hurt they had already done, but purſued them ſpeedily into the woods, and killed the greateſt part of thoſe that remained. Next day captain Morgan, extremely offended at what had paſſed, went himſelf with 200 men into the woods to ſeek for the reſt of the Spaniards, but finding no body, he revenged his wrath on the houſes of the poor and miſerable ruſticks that inhabit thoſe ſcattering fields and woods, of which he burnt a great number: with this he returned to his ſhips, ſomewhat more ſatisfied in his mind, for having done ſome conſiderable damage to the enemy, which was always his moſt ardent deſire.

The impatience wherewith captain Morgan had waited a long while for ſome of his ſhips not yet arrived, made him reſolve to ſail away without them, and ſteer for Savona, the place he always deſigned. Being arrived, and not finding any of his ſhips come, he was more impatient and concerned than before, fearing their loſs, or that he muſt proceed without them; but he waiting for their arrival a few days longer, and having no great plenty of proviſions, he ſent a crew of 150 men to Hiſpaniola to pillage ſome towns near Santo Domingo; but the Spaniards, upon intelligence of their coming, were ſo vigilant, and in ſuch good poſture of defence, that the pirates thought

thought not convenient to aſſault them, chooſing rather to return empty-handed to captain Morgan, than to periſh in that deſperate enterprize.

At laſt captain Morgan, ſeeing the other ſhips did not come, made a review of his people, and found only about 500 men; the ſhips wanting were ſeven, he only having eight in his company, of which the greateſt part were very ſmall. Having hitherto reſolved to cruiſe on the coaſts of Carraccas, and to plunder the towns and villages there, finding himſelf at preſent with ſuch ſmall forces, he changed his reſolution by advice of a French captain in his fleet. This Frenchman having ſerved L'Olonois in the like enterprizes, and at the taking of Maracaibo, knew all the entries, paſſages, forces, and means how to put in execution the ſame again in company of captain Morgan; to whom having made a full relation of all, he concluded to ſack it the ſecond time, being himſelf perſuaded, with all his men, of the facility the Frenchman propounded. Hereupon they weighed anchor, and ſteered towards Curaſao. Being come within ſight of it, they landed at another iſland near it, called Ruba, about twelve leagues from Curaſao to the weſt. This iſland, defended by a ſlender garriſon, is inhabited by Indians ſubject to Spain, and ſpeak Spaniſh, by reaſon of the Romon catholick religion here cultivated by a few prieſts ſent from the neighbouring continent.

The inhabitants exerciſe commerce or trade with the pirates that go and come this way: they buy of the iſlanders ſheep, lambs, and kids, which they exchange for linen, thread, and like things. The country is very dry and barren, the whole ſubſtance thereof conſiſting in thoſe three things, and a little indifferent wheat. This iſle produces many venomous inſects, as vipers, ſpiders, and others. Theſe laſt are ſo pernicious, that a man bitten by them dies

dies mad; and the manner of recovering ſuch, is to tie them very faſt both hands and feet, and ſo to leave them twenty four hours, without eating or drinking any thing. Captain Morgan, as was ſaid, having caſt anchor before this iſland, bought of the inhabitants ſheep, lambs, and wood for all his fleet. After two days, he ſailed again in the night, to the intent they might not ſee what courſe he ſteered.

Next day they arrived at the ſea of Maracaibo, taking great care not to be ſeen from Vigilia, for which reaſon they anchored out of ſight of it. Night being come, they ſet ſail again towards the land, and next morning, by break of day, were got directly over againſt the Bar of the ſaid lake. The Spaniards had built another fort ſince the action of Lolonois, whence they now fired continually againſt the pirates, while they put their men into boats to land. The diſpute continued very hot, being managed with great courage from morning till dark night. This being come, captain Morgan, in the obſcurity thereof, drew nigh the fort, which having examined, he found no body in it, the Spaniards having deſerted it not long before. They left behind them a match lighted near a train of powder, to have blown up the pirates and the whole fortreſs as ſoon as they were in it. This deſign had taken effect, had not the pirates diſcovered it in a quarter of an hour; but captain Morgan ſnatching away the match, ſaved both his own and his companions lives. They found here much powder, whereof he provided his fleet, and then demoliſhed part of the walls, nailing 16 pieces of ordnance from 12 to 24 pounders. Here they alſo found many muſquets and other military proviſions.

Next day they commanded the ſhips to enter the Bar, among which they divided the powder, muſquets,

quets, and other things found in the fort: then they embarked again to continue their courſe towards Maracaibo; but the waters being very low, they could not paſs a certain bank at the entry of the lake: hereupon they were compelled to go into canoes and ſmall boats, with which they arrived next day before Maracaibo, having no other defence than ſome ſmall pieces which they could carry in the ſaid boats. Being landed, they ran immediately to the fort de la Barra, which they found as the precedent, without any perſon in it, for all were fled into the woods, leaving alſo the town without any people, unleſs a few miſerable folks, who had nothing to loſe.

As ſoon as they had entered the towns, the pirates ſearched every corner to ſee if they could find any people that were hid, who might offend them unawares; not finding any body, every party as they came out of their ſeveral ſhips, choſe what houſes they pleaſed. The church was deputed for the common corps du guard, where they lived after their military manner, very inſolently. Next day after they ſent a troop of 100 men to ſeek for the inhabitants and their goods: theſe returned next day, bringing with them thirty perſons, men, women, and children, and fifty mules loaden with good merchandiſe. All theſe miſerable people were put to the rack, to make them confeſs where the reſt of the inhabitants were, and their goods. Among other tortures, one was to ſtretch their limbs with cords, and then to beat them with ſticks and other inſtruments. Others had burning matches placed betwixt their fingers, which were thus burnt alive. Others had ſlender cords or matches twiſted about their heads, till their eyes burſt out. Thus all inhuman cruelties were executed on thoſe innocent people. Thoſe who would not confeſs, or who had

had nothing to declare, died under the hands of thoſe villains. Theſe tortures and racks continued for three whole weeks, in which time they ſent out daily parties to ſeek for more people to torment and rob, they never returning without booty and new riches.

Captain Morgan having now gotten into his hands about 100 of the chief families, with all their goods, at laſt reſolved for Gibraltar, as Lolonois had done before: with this deſign he equipped his fleet, providing it ſufficiently with all neceſſaries. He put likewiſe on board all the priſoners, and weighing anchor ſet ſail with reſolution to hazard a battle. They had ſent before ſome priſoners to Gibraltar, to require the inhabitants to ſurrender, otherwiſe captain Morgan would certainly put them all to the ſword, without any quarter. Arriving before Gibraltar, the inhabitants received him with continual ſhooting of great cannon bullets; but the pirates, inſtead of fainting hereat, ceaſed not to encourage one another, ſaying, 'We muſt make one meal 'upon bitter things, before we come to taſte the 'the ſweetneſs of the ſugar this place affords.'

Next day very early they landed all their men, and being guided by the Frenchman aboveſaid, they marched towards the town; not by the common way, but croſſing through woods, which way the Spaniards ſcarce thought they would have come; for at the beginning of their march, they made as if they intended to come the next and open way to the town, hereby to deceive the Spaniards; but theſe remembering full well what Lolonois had done but two years before, thought it not ſafe to expect a ſecond brunt, and hereupon all fled out of the town as faſt as they could, carrying all their goods and riches, as alſo all the powder; and having nailed all the great guns, ſo as the pirates found not

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one perſon in the whole city, but one poor innocent man who was born a fool. This man they aſked whither the inhabitants were fled, and where they had hid their goods: to all which queſtions and the like, he conſtantly anſwered, 'I know nothing, I 'know nothing;' but they preſently put him to the rack, and tortured him with cords; which torments forced him to cry out, 'Do not torture me any more, 'but come with me, and I will ſhew you my goods 'and my riches.' They were perſuaded, it ſeems, he was ſome rich perſon diſguiſed under thoſe clothes ſo poor, and that innocent tongue; ſo they went along with him, and he conducted them to a poor miſerable cottage, wherein he had a few earthen diſhes and other things of no value, and three pieces of eight, concealed with ſome other trumpery under ground. Then they aſked him his name, and he readily anſwered, 'My name is Don Sebaſtian San-'chez, and I am brother unto the governor of Ma-'racaibo.' This fooliſh anſwer, it muſt be conceived, theſe inhuman wretches took for truth; for no ſooner had they heard it, but they put him again upon the rack, lifting him up on high with cords, and tying huge weights to his feet and neck. Beſides which, they burnt him alive, applying palm-leaves burning to his face.

The ſame day they ſent out a party to ſeek for the inhabitants, on whom they might exerciſe their cruelties. Theſe brought back an honeſt peaſant with two daughters of his, whom they intended to torture as they uſed others, if they ſhewed not the places where the inhabitants were hid. The peaſant knew ſome of thoſe places, and ſeeing himſelf threatened with the rack, went with the pirates to ſhew them; but the Spaniards perceiving their enemies to range every where up and down the woods, were already fled thence farther off into the thickeſt of the woods,

woods, where they built themſelves huts, to preſerve from the weather thoſe few goods they had. The pirates judged themſelves deceived by the peaſant, hereupon, to revenge themſelves, notwithſtanding all his excuſes and ſupplication, they hanged him on a tree.

Then they divided into parties to ſearch the plantations; for they knew the Spaniards that were abſconded could not live on what the woods afforded, without coming now and then for proviſions to their country houſes. Here they found a ſlave, to whom they promiſed mountains of gold, and his liberty, by tranſporting him to Jamaica, if he would ſhew them where the inhabitants of Gibraltar lay hid. This fellow conducted them to a party of Spaniards, whom they inſtantly made priſoners, commanding this ſlave to kill ſome before the eyes of the reſt; that by this perpetrated crime, he might never be able to leave their wicked company. The negro, according to their orders, committed many murders and inſolencies upon the Spaniards, and followed the unfortunate traces of the pirates; who eight days after returned to Gibraltar with many priſoners, and ſome mules laden with riches. They examined every priſoner by himſelf (who were in all about 250 perſons) where they had hid the reſt of their goods, and if they knew of their fellow townſmen. Such as would not confeſs, were tormented after a moſt inhuman manner. Among the reſt, there happened to be a Portugueſe, who by a negro was reported, though falſly, to be very rich; this man was commanded to produce his riches. His anſwer was, he had no more than 100 pieces of eight in the world, and theſe had been ſtolen from him two days before by his ſervant; which words, though he ſealed with many oaths and proteſtations, yet they would not believe him, but dragging him to the rack,

rack, without any regard to his age of ſixty years, they ſtretched him with cords, breaking both his arms behind his ſhoulders.

This cruelty went not alone; for he not being able or willing to make any other declaration, they put him to another ſort of torment more barbarous: they tied him with ſmall cords by his two thumbs and great toes to four ſtakes fixed in the ground at a convenient diſtance, the whole weight of his body hanging on thoſe cords. Not ſatisfied yet with this cruel torture, they took a ſtone of above two hundred pounds, and laid it upon his belly, as if they intended to preſs him to death; they alſo kindled palm leaves, and applied the flame to the face of this unfortunate Portugueſe, burning with them the whole ſkin, beard, and hair. At laſt, ſeeing that neither with theſe tortures, nor others, they could not get any thing out of him, they untied the cords, and carried him half dead to the church, where was their corps du gard; there they tied him anew to one of the pillars thereof, leaving him in that condition, without giving him either to eat or drink, unleſs very ſparingly, and ſo little as would ſcarce ſuſtain life for ſome days; four or five being paſt, he deſired one of the priſoners might come to him, by whoſe means he promiſed he would endeavour to raiſe ſome money to ſatisfy their demands. The priſoner whom he required was brought to him, and he ordered him to promiſe the pirates 500 pieces of eight for his ranſom; but they were deaf and obſtinate at ſuch a ſmall ſum, and inſtead of accepting it, beat him cruelly with cudgels, ſaying, 'Old 'fellow, inſtead of five hundred, you muſt ſay five 'hundred thouſand pieces of eight; otherwiſe you 'ſhall here end your life.' Finally, after a thouſand proteſtations that he was but a miſerable man, and kept a poor tavern for his living, he agreed with them

them for 1000 pieces of eight. Theſe he raiſed, and having paid them, got his liberty; though ſo horribly maimed, that it is ſcarce to be believed he could ſurvive many weeks.

Other tortures, beſide theſe, were exerciſed upon others, which this Portugueſe endured not. Some were hanged up by the teſticles, or privy-members, and left till they fell to the ground, thoſe parts being torn from their bodies: if with this they minded to ſhew mercy to thoſe wretches, thus lacerated in the moſt tender parts, their mercy was, to run them through with their ſwords; otherwiſe they uſed to lie four or five days under the agonies of death before they died. Others were crucified by theſe tyrants, and with kindled matches burnt between the joints of their fingers and toes: others had their feet put into the fire, and thus were left to be roaſted alive. Having uſed theſe and other cruelties with the white men, they began to practiſe the ſame with the negroes, their ſlaves, who were treated with no leſs inhumanity than their maſters.

Among theſe ſlaves was one who promiſed captain Morgan to conduct him to a river of the lake, where he ſhould find a ſhip and four boats, richly laden with goods of the inhabitants of Maracaibo: the ſame diſcovered likewiſe where the governor of Gibraltar lay hid, with the greateſt part of the women of the town; but all this he revealed, upon great menaces to hang him, if he told not what he knew. captain Morgan ſent away preſently 200 men in two ſettees, or great boats, to this river, to ſeek for what the ſlave had diſcovered; but he himſelf, with 250 more, undertook to go and take the governor. This gentleman was retired to a ſmall iſland in the middle of the river, where he had built a little fort, as well as he could, for his defence; but hearing that captain Morgan came in perſon with great forces

to ſeek him, he retired to the top of a mountain not far off, to which there was no aſcent, but by a very narrow paſſage, ſo ſtreight, that whoſoever did attempt to gain the aſcent, muſt march his men one by one. Captain Morgan ſpent two days before he arrived at this little iſland, whence he deſigned to proceed to the mountain where the governor was poſted, had he not been told of the impoſſibility of aſcent, not only for the narrowneſs of the way, but becauſe the governor was well provided with all ſorts of ammunition: beſide, there was fallen a huge rain, whereby all the pirates baggage and powder was wet. By this rain, alſo, they loſt many men at the paſſage over a river that was overflown: here periſhed, likewiſe, ſome women and children, and many mules laden with plate and goods, which they had taken from the fugitive inhabitants; ſo that things were in a very bad condition with captain Morgan, and his men much harraſſed, as may be inferred from this relation; whereby, if the Spaniards, in that juncture, had had but fifty men well armed, they might have entirely deſtroyed the pirates. But the fears the Spaniards had at firſt conceived were ſo great, that the leaves ſtirring on the trees they often fancied to be pirates. Finally, captain Morgan and his people, having upon this march ſometimes waded up to their middles in water for half, or whole miles together, they at laſt eſcaped, for the greateſt part; but the women and children for the major part died.

Thus twelve days after they ſet forth to ſeek the governor, they returned to Gibraltar with many priſoners: two days after arrived alſo the two ſettees that went to the river, bringing with them four boats, and ſome priſoners; but the greateſt part of the merchandize in the ſaid boats they found not, the Spaniards having unladed and ſecured it, having intelli-

intelligence of their coming; who deſigned alſo, when the merchandize was taken out, to burn the boats: yet the Spaniards made not ſo much haſte to unlade theſe veſſels, but that they left in the ſhip and boats great parcels of goods, which the pirates ſeized, and brought a conſiderable booty to Gibraltar. Thus, after they had been in poſſeſſion of the place five entire weeks, and committed an infinite number of murders, robberies, rapes, and ſuch like inſolencies, they concluded to depart; but firſt they ordered ſome priſoners to go forth into the woods and fields, and collect a ranſom for the town; otherwiſe they would certainly burn it down to the ground. Theſe poor afflicted men went as they were ſent, and having ſearched the adjoining fields and woods, returned to captain Morgan, telling him, they had ſcarce been able to find any body, but that to ſuch as they had found, they had propoſed his demands; to which they had anſwered, that the governor had prohibited them to give any ranſom for the town, but they beſeeched him to have a little patience, and among themſelves they would collect 5000 pieces of eight; and for the reſt, they would give ſome of their own townſmen as hoſtages, whom he might carry to Maracaibo, till he had received full ſatisfaction.

Captain Morgan having now been long abſent from Maracaibo, and knowing the Spaniards had had ſufficient time to fortify themſelves, and hinder his departure out of the lake, granted their propoſition, and made as much haſte as he could for his departure: he gave liberty to all the priſoners, firſt putting every one to a ranſom; yet he detained the ſlaves. They delivered him four perſons agreed on for hoſtages of what money more he was to receive, and they deſired to have the ſlave mentioned above, intending to puniſh him according to his

deſerts; but captain Morgan would not deliver him, leſt they ſhould burn him alive. At laſt, they weighed anchor, and ſet ſail in all haſte for Maracaibo: here they arrived in four days, and found all things as they had left them; yet here they received news from a poor diſtreſſed old man, whom alone they found ſick in the town, that three Spaniſh men of war were arrived at the entry of the lake, waiting the return of the pirates: moreover, that the caſtle at the entry thereof was again put into a good poſture of defence, well provided with guns and men, and all ſorts of ammunition.

This relation could not chooſe but diſturb the mind of captain Morgan, who now was careful how to get away through the narrow entry of the lake: hereupon, he ſent his ſwifteſt boat to view the entry, and ſee if things were as they had been related. Next day the boat came back, confirming what was ſaid; aſſuring him, they had viewed the ſhips ſo nigh, that they had been in great danger of their ſhot: hereunto they added, that the biggeſt ſhip was mounted with 40 guns, the ſecond with 30, and the ſmalleſt with 24. Theſe forces being much beyond thoſe of captain Morgan, cauſed a general conſternation in the pirates, whoſe biggeſt veſſel had not above 14 ſmall guns: every one judged captain Morgan to deſpond, and to be hopeleſs, conſidering the difficulty of paſſing ſafe with his little fleet amidſt thoſe great ſhips and the fort, or he muſt periſh. How to eſcape any other way, by ſea or land, they ſaw no way. Under theſe neceſſities, captain Morgan reſumed new courage, and reſolving to ſhew himſelf ſtill undaunted, he boldly ſent a Spaniard to the admiral of thoſe three ſhips, demanding of him a conſiderable ranſom for not putting the city of Maracaibo to the flames. This man (who was received

by the Spaniards with great admiration of the boldneſs of thoſe pirates, returned two days after, bringing to captain Morgan a letter from the ſaid admiral, as follows:

The letter of don Alonſo del Campo y Eſpinoſa, admiral of the Spaniſh fleet, to captain Morgan, commander of the pirates.

'HAVING underſtood by all our friends and neighbours, the unexpected news, that you 'have dared to attempt and commit hoſtilities in 'the countries, cities, towns, and villages belonging to the dominions of his catholick majeſty, my 'ſovereign lord and maſter; I let you underſtand by 'theſe lines, that I am come to this place, according to my obligation, near that caſtle which you 'took out of the hands of a parcel of cowards; 'where I have put things in a very good poſture of 'defence, and mounted again the artillery which 'you had nailed and diſmounted. My intent is, to 'diſpute with you your paſſage out of the lake, 'and follow and purſue you every where, to the 'end you may ſee the performance of my duty. 'Notwithſtanding, if you be contented to ſurrender with humility all that you have taken, together with the ſlaves and all other priſoners, I will 'let you freely paſs, without trouble or moleſtation; on condition that you retire home preſently 'to your own country. But if you make any reſiſtance or oppoſition to what I offer you, I aſſure you, I will command boats to come from 'Caraccas, whereiñ I will put my troops, and, 'coming to Maracaibo, will put you and every one 'to the ſword. This is my laſt and abſolute reſolution. Be prudent, therefore, and do not abuſe 'my bounty with ingratitude. I have with me very

'good ſoldiers, who deſire nothing more ardently 'than to revenge on you, and your people, all the 'cruelties and baſe infamous actions you have com-'mitted upon the Spaniſh nation in America. 'Dated on board the royal ſhip named the Mag-'dalen, lying at anchor at the entry of the lake 'of Maracaibo, this 24th of April, 1669.

'Don Alonſo del Campo y Eſpinoſa.'

As ſoon as captain Morgan received this letter, he called all his men together in the market-place of Maracaibo, and after reading the contents thereof, both in French and Engliſh, aſked their advice and reſolution on the whole matter, and whether they had rather ſurrender all they had got, to obtain their liberty, than fight for it.

They anſwered all unanimouſly, they had rather fight to the laſt drop of blood, than ſurrender ſo eaſily the booty they had got with ſo much danger of their lives. Among the reſt, one ſaid to captain Morgan, 'Take you care for the reſt, and I will un-'dertake to deſtroy the biggeſt of thoſe ſhips with 'only twelve men: the manner ſhall be, by making 'a brulot, or fire-ſhip, of that veſſel we took in 'the river of Gibraltar, which, to the intent ſhe 'may not be known for a fire-ſhip, we will fill her 'decks with logs of wood, ſtanding with hats and 'montera-caps, to deceive their ſight with the re-'preſentation of men. The ſame we will do at 'the port-holes that ſerve for the guns, which ſhall 'be filled with counterfeit cannon. At the ſtern 'we will hang out Engliſh colours, and perſuade 'the enemy ſhe is one of our beſt men of war 'going to fight them.' This propoſition was admitted and approved by every one; howbeit, their fears were not quite diſperſed.

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For, notwithſtanding what had been concluded there, they endeavoured the next day to come to an accommodation with don Alonſo. To this effect, captain Morgan ſent to him two perſons, with theſe propoſitions: firſt, 'That he would quit Maracaibo, 'without doing any damage to the town, or exacting any ranſom for the firing thereof. Secondly, 'That he would ſet at liberty one half of the ſlaves, 'and all the priſoners, without ranſom. Thirdly, 'That he would ſend home freely the four chief 'inhabitants of Gibraltar, which he had in his 'cuſtody as hoſtages for the contributions thoſe 'people had promiſed to pay.' Theſe propoſitions were inſtantly rejected by don Alonſo as diſhonourable; neither would he hear of any other accommodation, but ſent back this meſſage: 'That if they 'ſurrendered not themſelves voluntarily into his 'hands, within two days, under the conditions 'which he had offered them by his letter, he would 'immediately come and force them to do it.'

No ſooner had captain Morgan received this meſſage from don Alonſo, than he put all things in order to fight, reſolving to get out of the lake by main force, without ſurrendering any thing. Firſt, he commanded all the ſlaves and priſoners to be tied, and guarded very well, and gathered all the pitch, tar, and brimſtone they could find in the whole town, for the fire-ſhip above-mentioned; then they made ſeveral inventions of powder and brimſtone with palm-leaves, well anointed with tar. They covered very well their counterfeit cannon, laying under every piece many pounds of powder; beſides, they cut down many out-works of the ſhip, that the powder might exert its ſtrength the better; breaking open, alſo, new port-holes, where, inſtead of guns, they placed little drums uſed by the Negroes. Finally, the decks were handſomely beſet

with many pieces of wood, dreſſed up like men with hats, or montera's, and armed with ſwords, muſkets, and bandeleers.

The fire-ſhip being thus fitted, they prepared to go to the entry of the port. All the priſoners were put into one great boat, and in another of the biggeſt they placed all the women, plate, jewels, and other rich things: into others they put the bales of goods and merchandize, and other things of bulk: each of theſe boats had twelve men aboard, very well armed; the brulot had orders to go before the reſt of the veſſels, and preſently to fall foul with the great ſhip. All things being ready, captain Morgan exacted an oath of all his comrades, proteſting to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of blood, without demanding quarter; promiſing withal, that whoſoever behaved himſelf thus, ſhould be very well rewarded.

With this courageous reſolution, they ſet ſail to ſeek the Spaniards. On April 30, 1669, they found the Spaniſh fleet riding at anchor in the middle of the entry of the lake. Captain Morgan, it being now late, and almoſt dark, commanded all his veſſels to an anchor, deſigning to fight, even all night, if they forced him to it. He ordered a careful watch to be kept aboard every veſſel till morning, they being almoſt within ſhot, as well as within ſight of the enemy. The day dawning, they weighed anchor, and ſailed again, ſteering directly towards the Spaniards; who ſeeing them move, did inſtantly the ſame. The fire-ſhip ſailing before the reſt, fell preſently upon the great ſhip, and grappled her; which the Spaniards (too late) perceiving to be a fire-ſhip, they attempted to put her off, but in vain; for the flame ſeizing her timber and tackling, ſoon conſumed all the ſtern, the forepart ſinking into the ſea, where ſhe periſhed. The ſecond Spaniſh ſhip

perceiving

perceiving the admiral to burn, not by accident, but by induſtry of the enemy, eſcaped towards the caſtle, where the Spaniards themſelves ſunk her, chooſing to loſe their ſhip, rather than to fall into the hands of thoſe pirates. The third having no opportunity to eſcape, was taken by the pirates. The ſeamen that ſunk the ſecond ſhip near the caſtle, perceiving the pirates come towards them to take what remains they could find of their ſhipwreck, (for ſome part was yet above water) ſet fire alſo to this veſſel, that the pirates might enjoy nothing of that ſpoil. The firſt ſhip being ſet on fire, ſome of the perſons in her ſwam towards the ſhore; theſe the pirates would have taken up in their boats, but they would not aſk or take quarter, chooſing rather to loſe their lives than receive them from their hands, for reaſons which I ſhall relate.

The pirates being extreamly glad at this ſignal victory ſo ſoon obtained, and with ſo great an inequality of forces, conceived greater pride than they had before, and all preſently ran aſhore, intending to take the caſtle. This they found well provided with men, canons, and ammunition, they having no other arms than muſkets, and a few hand-granadoes: their own artillery they thought incapable, for its ſmallneſs, of making any conſiderable breach in the walls. Thus they ſpent the reſt of the day, firing at the garriſon with their muſkets, till the duſk of the evening; when they attempted to advance nearer the walls, to throw in their fire-balls: but the Spaniards reſolving to ſell their lives as dear as they could, fired ſo furiouſly at them, that they having experienced the obſtinacy of the enemy, and ſeeing thirty of their men dead, and as many more wounded, they retired to their ſhips

The Spaniards believing the pirates would next day renew the attack with their own cannon, la-

boured hard all night to put things in order for their coming; particularly, they dug down, and made plain, ſome little hills and eminences, whence poſſibly the caſtle might be offended.

But captain Morgan intended not to come again, buſying himſelf next day in taking priſoners ſome of the men who ſtill ſwam alive, hoping to get part of the riches loſt in the two ſhips that periſhed. Among the reſt, he took a pilot, who was a ſtranger, and who belonged to the leſſer ſhip of the two, of whom he enquired ſeveral things; as, what number of people thoſe three ſhips had in them? whether they expected any more ſhips to come? From what port they ſet forth laſt, when they came to ſeek them out? He anſwered, in Spaniſh, 'Noble 'Sir, be pleaſed to pardon and ſpare me, that 'no evil be done to me, being a ſtranger to this 'nation I have ſerved, and I ſhall ſincerely inform 'you of all that paſſed till our arrival at this lake. 'We were ſent, by orders from the ſupream coun-'cil of ſtate in Spain, being ſix men of war, well 'equipped, into theſe ſeas, with inſtructions to 'cruize upon the Engliſh pirates, and root them 'out from theſe parts, by deſtroying as many of 'them as we could.

'Theſe orders were given, upon the news brought 'to the court of Spain of the loſs and ruin of 'Puerto Bello, and other places: of all which 'damages and hoſtilities committed here by the 'Engliſh, diſmal lamentations have often been made 'to the catholick king and council, to whom be-'longs the care and preſervation of this new world. 'And though the Spaniſh court hath many times 'by their ambaſſadors complained hereof to the king 'of England; yet it has been the conſtant anſwer 'of his majeſty of Great Britain, that he never gave 'any letters patents, nor commiſſions, for acting

'any

'any hoſtility againſt the ſubjects of the king of Spain. 'Hereupon the catholick king reſolved to revenge his 'ſubjects, and puniſh theſe proceedings; commanded 'ſix men of war to be equipped, which he ſent under 'the command of don Auguſtine de Buſtos, admiral 'of the ſaid fleet. He commanded the biggeſt ſhip, 'named N. S. de la Soleda, of 48 great guns, and '8 ſmall ones. The vice admiral was don Alonſo del 'Campo y Eſpinoſa, who commanded the ſecond ſhip 'called la Conception, of 44 great guns and 8 ſmall 'ones; beſides 4 veſſels more, whereof the firſt 'was named the Magdalen, of 36 great guns, and '12 ſmall ones, with 250 men. The ſecond was 'called St. Lewis with 26 great guns 12 ſmall ones, 'and 200 men. The third was called la Marqueſa, of '16 great guns and 8 ſmall ones, and 150 men. 'The fourth and laſt, N. S. del Carmen, with 8 'great guns, 8 ſmall ones, and 150 men.

'Being arrived at Carthagena, the two greateſt 'ſhips received orders to return to Spain, being judged 'too big for cruizing on theſe coaſts. With the four 'ſhips remaining, don Alonſo del Campo y Eſpinoſa 'departed towards Campechy to ſeek the Engliſh: 'we arrived at the port there, where, being ſur-'prized by a huge ſtorm from the north, we loſt one 'of our ſhips, being that which I named laſt. Hence 'we ſailed for Hiſpaniola, in ſight of which we came 'in a few days, and ſteered for Santo Domingo: 'here we heard that there had paſſed that way a 'fleet from Jamaica, and that ſome men thereof had 'landed at Alta Gracia; the inhabitants had taken 'one priſoner, who confeſſed their deſign was to 'go and pillage the city of Caraccas. On this news, 'don Alonſo inſtantly weighed anchor, and croſſing 'over to the continent, we came in ſight of the Ca-'raccas: here we found them not, but met with a 'boat, which certified us they were in the lake of 'Maracaibo, and that the fleet conſiſted of ſeven ſmall 'ſhips, and one boat.

'Upon this we came here, and arriving at the entry 'of the lake, we ſhot off a gun for a pilot from the 'ſhore. Thoſe on land perceiving we were Spaniards 'came willingly to us with a pilot, and told us the 'Engliſh had taken Maracaibo, and that they were 'now at the pillage of Gibraltar. Don Alonſo, on 'this news, made a handſome ſpeech to his ſoldiers 'and mariners, encouraging them to their duty, and 'promiſing to divide among them all they ſhould take 'from the Engliſh: he ordered the guns we had taken 'out of the ſhip that was loſt, to be put into the 'caſtle, and mounted for its defence, two eighteen 'pounders more out of his own ſhip. The pilots 'conducted us into the port, and don Alonſo com-'manded the people on ſhore to come before him, 'whom he ordered to repoſſeſs the caſtle, and re-'inforce it with 100 men more than it had before 'its being taken. Soon after, we heard of your re-'turn from Gibraltar to Maracaibo, whither don 'Alonſo wrote you a letter, giving you an account 'of his arrival and deſign, and exhorting you to re-'ſtore what you had taken. This you refuſing, he 'renewed his promiſes to his ſoldiers and ſeamen; 'and having given a very good ſupper to all his 'people, he ordered them not to take or give any 'quarter; which was the occaſion of ſo many 'being drowned, who dared not to crave quarter, 'knowing themſelves muſt give none. Two days 'before you came againſt us, a negro came aboard 'don Alonſo's ſhip, telling him, Sir, be pleaſed to 'have great care of yourſelf, for the Engliſh have 'prepared a fire-ſhip, with deſign to burn your fleet. But don Alonſo not believing this, anſwered, how can that be? Have they, peradventure, wit enough to build a fire-ſhip? Or what inſtruments have they to do it withal?'

This pilot having related ſo diſtinctly theſe things to captain Morgan was very well uſed by him, and, after

after ſome kind proffers made to him, remained in his ſervice. He told captain Morgan, that in the ſhip which was ſunk there was a great quantity of plate, to the value of 40,000 pieces of eight; which occaſioned the Spaniards to be often ſeen in boats about it. Hereupon captain Morgan ordered one of his ſhips to remain there, to find ways of getting out of it what plate they could; mean while himſelf, with all his fleet, returned to Maracaibo, where he refitted the great ſhip he had taken, and choſe it for himſelf, giving his own bottom to one of his captains.

Then he ſent again a meſſenger to the admiral, who was eſcaped aſhore, and got into the caſtle, demanding of him a ranſom of fire for Maracaibo; which being denied, he threatened entirely to conſume and deſtroy it. The Spaniards conſidering the ill luck they had all along with thoſe pirates, and not knowing how to get rid of them, concluded to pay the ſaid ranſom, though don Alonſo would not conſent.

Hereupon they ſent to captain Morgan, to know what ſum he demanded. He anſwered, that on payment of 30,000 pieces of eight, and 500 beeves, he would releaſe the priſoners, and do no damage to the town. At laſt they agreed on 20,000 pieces of eight, and 5000 beeves to victual his fleet. The cattle were brought the next day, with one part of the money; and while the pirates were buſied in ſalting the fleſh, they made up the whole 20,000 pieces of eight, as was agreed.

But captain Morgan would not preſently deliver the priſoners, as he had promiſed, fearing the ſhot of the caſtle at his going forth out of the lake. Hereupon he told them he intended not to deliver them till he was out of that danger, hoping thus to obtain a free paſſage. Then he ſet ſail with his fleet in queſt of the ſhip he had left to ſeek for the plate of the veſſel that was burnt. He found her on the place,

place, with 15,000 pieces of eight got out of the works, beſide many pieces of plate, as hilts of ſwords, and the like; alſo a great quantity of pieces of eight melted and run together by the force of the fire.

Captain Morgan ſcarce thought himſelf ſecure, nor could he contrive how to avoid the ſhot of the caſtle; hereupon he wiſhed the priſoners to agree with the governor to permit a ſafe paſſage to his fleet, which if he ſhould not allow, he would certainly hang them all up in his ſhips. Upon this the priſoners met, and appointed ſome of their fellow meſſengers to go to the ſaid governor don Alonſo: theſe went to him, beſeeching and ſupplicating him to have compaſſion on thoſe afflicted priſoners, who were, with their wives and children, in the hands of captain Morgan, and that to this effect he would be pleaſed to give his word to let the fleet of pirates freely paſs, this being the only way to ſave both the lives of them that came with this petition, as alſo of thoſe who remained in captivity; all being equally menaced with the ſword and gallows, if he granted them not this humble requeſt. But don Alonſo gave them for anſwer a ſharp reprehenſion of their cowardice, telling them, 'If you 'had been as loyal to your king in hindering the 'entry of theſe pirates, as I ſhall do their going out, 'you had never cauſed theſe troubles neither to your-'ſelves, nor to our whole nation, which hath ſuf-'fered ſo much through your puſillanimity. In a 'word, I ſhall never grant your requeſt, but ſhall en-'deavour to maintain that reſpect which is due to my 'king, according to my duty.'

Thus the Spaniards returned with much conſternation, and hopes of obtaining their requeſt, telling captain Morgan what anſwer they had received: his reply was, if don Alonſo will not let me paſs, I will find means how to dow it without him. Hereupon he preſently made a dividend of all they had taken, fearing

fearing he might not have an opportunity to do it in another place, if any tempeſt ſhould riſe and ſeparate the ſhips, as alſo being jealous that any of the commanders might run away with the beſt part of the ſpoil, which then lay much more in one veſſel than another. Thus they all brought in according to their laws, and declared what they had, firſt making oath not to conceal the leaſt thing. The account being caſt up, they found to the value of 25,000 pieces of eight in money and jewels, beſides the huge quantity of merchandiſe and ſlaves; all which purchaſe was divided to every ſhip or boat, according to their ſhare.

The dividend being made, the queſtion ſtill remained how they ſhould paſs the caſtle, and get out of the lake: to this effect they made uſe of a ſtratagem, as follows; the day before the night wherein they determined to get forth, they embarked many of their men in canoes, and rowed towards the ſhore, as if they deſigned to land; here they hid themſelves under branches of trees that hang over the coaſt awhile, laying themſelves down in the boats; then the canoes returned to the ſhips, with the appearance of only two or three men rowing them back, the reſt being unſeen at the bottom of the canoes; thus much only could be perceived from the caſtle; and this falſe landing of men, for ſo we may call it, was repeated that day ſeveral times: this made the Spaniards think the pirates intended at night to force the caſtle by ſcaling it. This fear cauſed them to place moſt of their great guns on the land ſide, together with their main force, leaving the ſide towards the ſea almoſt deſtitute of defence.

Night being come, they weighed anchor, and by moon-light, without ſetting ſail, committed themſelves to the ebbing tide, which gently brought them down the river, till they were near the caſtle; being almoſt

moſt over againſt it, they ſpread their ſails with all poſſible haſte. The Spaniards perceiving this, tranſported with all ſpeed their guns from the other ſide, and began to fire very furiouſly at them; but theſe having a very favourable wind, were almoſt paſt danger before thoſe of the caſtle could hurt them; ſo that they loſt few of their men, and received no conſiderable damage in their ſhips. Being out of the reach of the guns, captain Morgan ſent a canoe to the caſtle with ſome of the priſoners, and the governor thereof gave them a boat to return to their own homes; but he detained the hoſtages from Gibraltar, becauſe the reſt of the ranſom for not firing the place was yet unpaid. Juſt as he departed, captain Morgan ordered ſeven great guns with bullets to be fired againſt the caſtle, as it were to take his leave of them, but they anſwered not ſo much as with a muſket ſhot.

Next day after they were ſurprized with a great tempeſt, which forced them to caſt anchor in five or ſix fathom water; but the ſtorm increaſing, compelled them to weigh again, and put to ſea, where they were in great danger of being loſt; for if they ſhould have been caſt on ſhore, either into the hands of the Spaniards or Indians, they would certainly have obtained no mercy; at laſt the tempeſt being ſpent the wind ceaſed, to the great joy of the whole fleet.

While captain Morgan made his fortune by theſe pillagings, his companions, who were ſeparated from his fleet at the cape de Lobos, to take the ſhip ſpoken of before, endured much miſery, and were unfortunate in all their attempts. Being arrived at Savona, they found not captain Morgan there, nor any of their companions, nor had they the fortune to find a letter which captain Morgan at his departure left behind him in a place where in all probability they would

would meet with it. Thus, not knowing what courſe to ſteer, they concluded to pillage ſome town or other. They were in all about 400 men divided into four ſhips and one boat: being ready to ſet forth, they conſtituted an admiral among themſelves, being one who had behaved himſelf very courageouſly at the taking of Puerto Bello, named captain Hanſel: this commander attempted the taking of the town of Commana, on the continent of Caraccas, nigh 60 leagues to the weſt of the iſle de la Trinidad. Being arrived there, they landed their men, and killed ſome few Indians near the coaſt; but approaching the town, the Spaniards having in their company many Indians, diſputed the entry ſo briſkly, that with great loſs and confuſion they were forced to retire to the ſhips. At laſt they arrived at Jamaica, where the reſt of their companions who came with captain Morgan, mocked and jeered them for their ill ſucceſs at Commana, often telling them, 'let us ſee what money you brought from Commana, and if it be as good 'ſilver as that which we bring from Maracaibo.

CHAP. XV.

Captain Morgan goes to Hiſpaniola to equip a new fleet, with intent to pillage again on the coaſt of the Weſt-Indies.

CAptain Morgan perceived now that fortune favoured him by giving ſucceſs to all his enterprizes, which occaſioned him, as is uſual in human affairs, to aſpire to greater things, truſting ſhe would always be conſtant to him. Such was the burning of Panama, wherein fortune failed not to aſſiſt him, as ſhe had done before, though ſhe had led him thereto through a thouſand difficulties. The hiſtory hereof I ſhall now relate, being ſo remarkable in all its circumſtances,

as

as peradventure nothing more deserving memory will be read by future ages.

Captain Morgan arriving at Jamaica, found many of his officers and soldiers reduced to their former indigency by their vices and debaucheries: hence they perpetually importuned him for new exploits, thereby to get something to expend still in wine and strumpets, as they had already done what they got before. Captain Morgan, willing to follow fortune's call, stopped the mouth of many inhabitants of Jamaica, who were creditors to his men for large sums, with the hopes and promises of greater atchievements than ever, by a new expedition: this done, he could easily levy men for any enterprize, his name being so famous through all those islands, as that alone would readily bring him in more men than he could well employ. He undertook therefore to equip a new fleet, for which he assigned the south side of Tortuga as a place of rendezvous, writing letters to all the expert pirates there inhabiting, as also to the governor, and to the planters and hunters of Hispaniola, informing them of his intentions, and desiring their appearance, if they intended to go with him. These people upon this notice flocked to the place assigned, in huge numbers, with ships, canoes, and boats, being desirous to follow him. Many who had not the convenience of coming by sea, traversed the woods of Hispaniola, and with no small difficulties arrived there by land. Thus all were present at the place assigned, and ready against October the twenty fourth, 1670.

Captain Morgan was not wanting to be there punctually, coming in his ship to Port Couillon, over-against the island de la Vaca, the place assigned. Having gathered the greatest part of his fleet, he called a council to deliberate about finding provisions for so many people. Here they concluded to send four ships and one boat, with 400 men, to the continent,

in order to rifle ſome country towns and villages for all the corn or maiz they could gather. They ſet ſail for the continent towards the river de la Hacha, deſigning to aſſault the village called la Rancheria, uſually beſt ſtored with maiz of all the parts thereabouts. Mean while captain Morgan ſent another party to hunt in the woods, who killed a great number of beaſts, and ſalted them; the reſt remained in the ſhips, to clean, fit, and rig them, that at the return of their fellows all things might be in a readineſs to weigh anchor and follow their deſigns.

CHAP. XVI.

What happened in the river de la Hacha.

THESE four ſhips ſetting ſail from Hiſpaniola, ſteered for the river de la Hacha, where they were ſuddenly overtaken with a tedious calm. Being within ſight of land becalmed for ſome days, the Spaniards inhabiting along the coaſts, who had perceived them to be enemies, had ſufficient time to prepare themſelves, at leaſt to hide the beſt of their goods, that without any care of preſerving them, they might be ready to retire, if they proved unable to reſiſt the pirates, by whoſe frequent attempts on thoſe coaſts they had already learned what to do in ſuch caſes. There was then in the river a good ſhip, come from Carthagena to lade with maiz, and now almoſt ready to depart: the men of this ſhip endeavoured to eſcape, but not being able to do it, both they and the veſſel fell into their hands. This was a fit purchaſe for them, being good part of what they came for. Next morning, about break of day, they came with their ſhips aſhore, and landed their men, though the Spaniards made good reſiſtance from a battery they had raiſed on that ſide, where, of neceſſity,

ceſſity, they were to land; but they were forced to retire to a village, whither the pirates followed them: here the Spaniards rallying, fell upon them with great fury, and maintained a ſtrong combat, which laſted till night; but then perceiving they had loſt a great number of men, which was no leſs on the pirates ſide, they retired to ſecret places in the woods.

Next day the pirates ſeeing them all fled, and the town left empty of people, they purſued them as far as they could, and over took a party of Spaniards, whom they made priſoners, and exerciſed with moſt cruel torments, to diſcover their goods. Some were forced by intolerable tortures to confeſs; but others, who would not were uſed more barbarouſly. Thus in fifteen days that they remained there, they took many priſoners, much plate and moveables, with which booty they reſolved to return to Hiſpaniola; yet not content with what they had got, they diſpatched ſome priſoners into the woods to ſeek for the reſt of the inhabitants, and to demand a ranſom for not burning the town. They anſwered, they had no money, nor plate; but if they would be ſatisfied with a quantity of maiz, they would give as much as they could. The pirates accepted this, it being then more uſeful to them than ready money, and agreed they ſhould pay 4000 hanegs, or buſhels of maiz. Theſe were brought in three days after, the Spaniards being deſirous to rid themſelves of that inhuman ſort of people. Having laded them on board with the reſt of their purchaſe, they returned to Hiſpaniola, to give account to their leader, captain Morgan, of all they had performed.

They had now been abſent three weeks on this commiſſion, which long delay occaſioned captain Morgan almoſt to deſpair of their return, fearing leſt they were fallen into the hands of the Spaniards; eſpecially conſidering the place whereto they went could eaſily

eaſily be relieved from Carthagena and Santa Maria, if the inhabitants were careful to alarm the country. On the other ſide, he feared leſt they ſhould have made ſome great fortune in that voyage, and with it have eſcaped to ſome other place: but ſeeing his ſhips return in greater numbers than they departed, he reſumed new courage, this ſight cauſing both in him and his companions infinite joy, eſpecially when they found them full laden with maiz, which they much wanted for the maintenance of ſo many people, from whom they expected great matters under ſuch a commander.

Captain Morgan having divided the ſaid maiz, as alſo the fleſh which the hunters brought, among his ſhips, according to the number of men, he concluded to depart; having viewed before-hand every ſhip, and obſerved their being well equipped, and clean. Thus he ſet ſail, and ſtood for Cape Tiburon, where he determined to reſolve what enterprize he ſhould take in hand. No ſooner were they arrived, but they met ſome other ſhips newly come to join them from Jamaica: ſo that now their fleet conſiſted of 37 ſhips, wherein were 2000 fighting men, beſide mariners and boys. The admiral hereof was mounted with 22 great guns, and 6 ſmall ones of braſs; the reſt carried ſome 20, ſome 16, ſome 18, and the ſmalleſt veſſel at leaſt 4; beſides which, they had great quantities of ammunition and fire-balls, with other inventions of powder.

Captain Morgan having ſuch a number of ſhips, divided the whole fleet into two ſquadrons, conſtituting a vice-admiral, and other officers of the ſecond ſquadron, diſtinct from the former: to theſe he gave letters patents, or commiſſions to act all manner of hoſtilities againſt the Spaniſh nation, and take of them what ſhips they could, either abroad at ſea, or in the harbours, as if they were open and declared enemies (as he termed it) of the king of England, his pretended

tended maſter. This done, he called all his captains and other officers together, and cauſed them to ſign ſome articles of agreement betwixt them, and in the name of all. Herein it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould have the hundredth part of all that was gotten to himſelf: that every Captain ſhould draw the ſhares of 8 men for the expences of his ſhip, beſides his own. To the ſurgeon, beſide his pay, 200 pieces of eight for his cheſt of medicaments: to every carpenter, above his ſalary, 100 pieces of eight. The rewards were ſettled in this voyage much higher than before: as for the loſs of both legs 1500 hundred pieces of eight, or 15 ſlaves, the choice left to the party: for the loſs of both hands, 1800 pieces of eight, or 18 ſlaves: for one leg, whether right or left, 600 pieces of eight, or 6 ſlaves: for a hand, as much as for a leg; and for the loſs of an eye, 100 pieces of eight, or one ſlave. Laſtly, To him that in any battle ſhould ſignalize himſelf, either by entering firſt any caſtle, or taking down the Spaniſh colours, and ſetting up the Engliſh, they allotted 50 pieces of eight for a reward: all which extraordinary ſalaries and rewards, to be paid out of the firſt ſpoil they ſhould take, as every one ſhould merit, to be either rewarded or paid.

This contract being ſigned, captain Morgan commanded his vice-admirals and captains to put all things in order, to attempt one of theſe three places; either Carthagena, Panama, or Vera Cruz: but the lot fell on Panama, as the richeſt of all three, though this city being ſituated at ſuch a diſtance from the North ſea, as they knew not well the approaches to it, they judged it neceſſary to go beforehand to the iſle of St. Catherine, there to find ſome perſons for guides in this enterprize: for in the garriſon there are commonly many banditi and outlaws belonging to Panama, and the neighbouring places, who

who are very expert in the knowledge of that country. But before they proceeded, they publiſhed an act through the whole fleet, promiſing if they met with any Spaniſh veſſel, the firſt captain who ſhould take it, ſhould have for his reward the tenth part of what ſhould be found in her.

CHAP. XVII.

Captain Morgan leaves Hiſpaniola, and goes to St. Catherine's, which he takes.

CAptain Morgan and his companions weighed anchor from the cape of Tiburon, December 16, 1670. Four days after they arrived in ſight of St. Catherine's, now in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards again, as was ſaid before, to which they commonly baniſh the malefactors of the Spaniſh dominions in the Weſt-Indies. Here are huge quantities of pigeons at certain ſeaſons. It is watered by four rivulets, whereof two are always dry in ſummer: here is no trade or commerce exerciſed by the inhabitants, neither do they plant more fruits than what are neceſſary for human life, though the country would make very good plantations of tobacco of conſiderable profit, were it cultivated.

As ſoon as captain Morgan came near the iſland with his fleet, he ſent one of his beſt ſailing veſſels to view the entry of the river, and ſee if any other ſhips were there, who might hinder him from landing; as alſo fearing leſt they ſhould give intelligence of his arrival to the inhabitants, and prevent his deſigns.

Next day, before day-light, all the fleet anchored near the iſland, in a bay called Aguade Grande. On this bay the Spaniards had built a battery mounted with four pieces of cannon. Captain Morgan landed about a 1000 men in divers ſquadrons, marching through

through the woods, though they had no other guides than a few of his own men, who had been there before under Manſvelt: the ſame day they came to a place where the governor ſometimes reſided; here they found a battery called a Platform, but no body in it, the Spaniards having retired to the leſſer iſland, which, as was ſaid before, is ſo near the great one, that a ſhort bridge only may conjoin them.

This leſſer iſland was ſo well fortified with forts and batteries round it, as might ſeem impregnable: hereupon, as ſoon as the Spaniards perceived the pirates approach, they fired on them ſo furiouſly, that they could advance nothing that day, but were content to retreat, and take up their reſt in the open fields, which was not ſtrange to theſe people, being ſufficiently uſed to ſuch kind of repoſe: what moſt afflicted them was hunger, having not eat any thing that whole day. About midnight it rained ſo hard, that they had much ado to bear it, the greateſt part of them having no other cloaths than a pair of ſeaman's trowzers, or breeches, and a ſhirt, without ſhoes or ſtockings. In this great extremity they pulled down a few thatched houſes to make fires withal; in a word, they were in ſuch a condition, that 100 men, indifferently well armed, might eaſily that night have torn them all in pieces. Next morning about break of day the rain ceaſed, and they dried their arms, and marched on; but ſoon after it rained afreſh, rather harder than before, as if the ſkies were melted into waters; which kept them from advancing towards the forts, whence the Spaniards continually fired at them.

The pirates were now reduced to great affliction and danger through the badneſs of the weather, their nakedneſs, and great hunger; for a ſmall relief hereof, they found in the fields an old horſe lean, and full of ſcabs and blotches, with galled back and ſides: this they

they inſtantly killed and flayed, and divided in ſmall pieces among themſelves, as far as it would reach (for many could not get a morſel) which they roaſted and devoured without ſalt or bread, more like ravenous wolves than men. The rain not ceaſing, captain Morgan perceived their minds to relent, hearing many of them ſay they would return on board. Among theſe fatigues of mind and body, he thought convenient to uſe ſome ſudden remedy: to this effect, he commanded a canoe to be rigged in haſte, and colours of truce to be hanged out. This canoe he ſent to the Spaniſh governor, with this meſſage: "That if within a few hours he de-"livered not himſelf and all his men into his hands, "he did by that meſſenger ſwear to him, and all "thoſe that were in his company, he would moſt "certainly put them to the ſword, without grant-"ing quarter to any."

In the afternoon the canoe returned with this anſwer: "That the governor deſired two hours time "to deliberate with his officers about it, which be-"ing paſt he would give his poſitive anſwer." The time being elapſed, the governor ſent two canoes with white colours, and two perſons, to treat with captain Morgan; but before they landed, they demanded of the pirates two perſons as hoſtages. Theſe were readily granted by captain Morgan, who delivered them two of his captains for a pledge of the ſecurity required: with this the Spaniards propounded to captain Morgan, that the governor in a full aſſembly had reſolved to deliver up the iſland, not being provided with ſufficient forces to defend it againſt ſuch an armado: but, withal, [illegible]ed captain Morgan would be pleaſed to uſe a certain ſtratagem of war, for the better ſaving of his own credit, and the reputation of his officers both abroad and at home, which ſhould be as follows: that captain Morgan

would come with his troops by night to the bridge that joined the leſſer iſland to the great one, and there attack the fort of St. Jerom: that at the ſame time all his fleet would draw near the caſtle of Santa Tereſa, and attack it by land, landing, in the mean while, more troops near the battery of St. Matthew: that theſe troops being newly landed, ſhould by this means intercept the governor as he endeavoured to paſs to St. Jerom's fort, and then take him priſoner; uſing the formality, as if they forced him to deliver the caſtle; and that he would lead the Engliſh into it, under colour of being his own troops. That on both ſides there ſhould be continual firing; but without bullets, or at leaſt into the air; ſo that no ſide might be hurt. That thus having obtained two ſuch conſiderable forts, the chiefeſt of the iſle, he need not take care for the reſt, which muſt fall of courſe into his hands.

Theſe propoſitions were granted by captain Morgan, on condition they ſhould ſee them faithfully obſerved; otherwiſe they ſhould be uſed with the utmoſt rigour: this they promiſed to do, and took their leave, to give account of their negociation to the governor. Preſently after captain Morgan commanded the whole fleet to enter the port, and his men to be ready to aſſault, that night, the caſtle of St. Jerom. Thus the falſe battle began, with inceſſant firing from both the caſtles againſt the ſhips, but without bullets, as was agreed: then the pirates landed, and aſſaulted by night the leſſer iſland, which they took, as alſo both the fortreſſes; forcing the Spaniards, in appearance, to fly to the church. Before this aſſault, captain Morgan ſent word to the governor, that he ſhould keep all his men together in a body; otherwiſe, if the pirates met any ſtraggling Spaniards in the ſtreets, they ſhould certainly ſhoot them.

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This iſland being taken by this unuſal ſtratagem, and all things put in order; the pirates made a new war againſt the poultry, cattle, and all ſorts of victuals they could find, for ſome days; ſcarce thinking of any thing elſe than to kill, roaſt, and eat, and make what good cheer they could. If wood was wanting, they pulled down the houſes, and made fires with the timber, as had been done before in the field. Next day they numbered all the priſoners they had taken upon the iſland, which were found to be in all 459 perſons, men, women, and children, viz. 190 ſoldiers of the garriſon; 40 inhabitants, who were married; 43 children; 34 ſlaves, belonging to the king; with 8 children, 8 banditti, 39 negroes belonging to private perſons; with 27 female blacks, and 34 children. The pirates diſarmed all the Spaniards, and ſent them out immediately to the plantations to ſeek for proviſions, leaving the women in the church to exerciſe their devotions.

Soon after they reviewed the whole iſland, and all the fortreſſes thereof, which they found to be nine in all; viz. the fort of St. Jerom, next the bridge, had 8 great guns, of 12, 6, and 8 pounds carriage, with 6 pipes of muſkets, every pipe containing 10 muſkets. Here they found ſtill 60 muſkets, with ſufficient powder, and other ammunition. The ſecond fortreſs, called St. Matthew, had 3 guns, of 8 pounds each: the third and chiefeſt, named Santa Tereſa, had 20 great guns, of 18, 12, 8, and 6 pounds, with 20 pipes of muſkets, like thoſe before, and 90 muſkets remaining, beſides other ammunition. This caſtle was built with ſtone and mortar, with very thick walls, and a large ditch round it, 20 feet deep, which though it was dry, yet was very hard to get over. Here was no entry, but through one door, to the middle of the caſtle.

Within it was a mount almoſt inacceſſible, with 4 pieces of cannon at the top; whence they could ſhoot directly into the port: on the ſea-ſide it was impregnable, by reaſon of the rocks round it, and the ſea beating furiouſly upon them: to the land it was ſo commodiouſly ſeated on a mountain, as there was no acceſs to it but by a path three or four feet broad. The fourth fortreſs was named St. Auguſtine, having 3 guns of 8 and 6 pounds. The fifth, named La Plattaforma de la Conception, had only 2 guns of 8 pounds. The ſixth, by name San Salvador, had likewiſe no more than 2 guns. The ſeventh, called Plattaforma de los Artillery, had alſo 2 guns. The eighth, called Santa Cruz, had 3 guns. The ninth, called St. Joſeph's fort, had 6 guns of 12 and 8 pounds, beſides two pipes of muſkets and ſufficient ammunition.

In the ſtorehouſes were above 30,000 pounds of powder, with all other ammunition, which was carried by the pirates on board: all the guns were ſtopped and nailed, and the fortreſſes demoliſhed; except that of St. Jerom, where the pirates kept guard and reſiſtance. Captain Morgan enquired for any banditti from Panama or Puerto Bello, and three were brought him, who pretended to be very expert in the avenues of thoſe parts. He aſked them to be his guides, and ſhew him the ſecureſt ways to Panama, which if they performed he promiſed them equal ſhares in the plunder of that expedition, and their liberty when they arrived at Jamaica. Theſe propoſitions the banditti readily accepted, promiſing to ſerve him very faithfully, eſpecially one of the three, who was the greateſt rogue, thief, and aſſaſſin among them, and who had deſerved rather to be broken alive on the wheel, than puniſhed with ſerving in a garriſon: this wicked fellow had a great aſcendant over the other two, and domi-

dominecred over them as he pleaſed, they not daring to diſobey his orders.

Captain Morgan commanded four ſhips and one boat to be equipped and provided with neceſſaries, to go and take the caſtle of Chagre, on the river of that name; neither would he go himſelf with his whole fleet, leſt the Spaniards ſhould be jealous of his farther deſign on Panama. In theſe veſſels he embarked 400 men to put in execution theſe his orders; mean while himſelf remained in St. Catherine's with the reſt of the fleet, expecting to hear of their ſucceſs.

CHAP. XVIII.

Captain Morgan takes the caſtle of Chagre, with 400 men ſent to this purpoſe from St. Catherine's.

CAPTAIN Morgan ſending this little fleet to Chagre, choſe for vice-admiral thereof one captain Brodely, who had been long in thoſe quarters, and committed many robberies on the Spaniards, when Manſvelt took the iſle of St. Catherine, as was before related; and therefore was thought a fit perſon for this exploit, his actions likewiſe having rend[illegible]r'd him famous among the pirates, and their enemies the Spaniards. Captain Brodely being made commander, in three days after his departure arrived in ſight of the ſaid caſtle of Chagre, by the Spaniards called St. Lawrence. This caſtle is built on a high mountain, at the entry of the river, ſurrounded with ſtrong paliſadoes, or wooden walls, filled [illegible] earth, which ſecures them as well as the beſt wall of ſtone or brick. The top of this mountain is, in a manner, divided into two parts, between which is a ditch thirty feet deep. The caſtle hath but one entry, and that by a draw-

bridge over this ditch: to the land it has four baſtions, and to the ſea two more. The ſouth part is totally inacceſſible, through the craggineſs of the mountain; the north is ſurrounded by the river, which here is very broad: at the foot of the caſtle, or rather mountain, is a ſtrong fort, with eight great guns, commanding the entry of the river. Not much lower are two other batteries, each of ſix pieces, to defend likewiſe the mouth of the river. At one ſide of the caſtle are two great ſtorehouſes of all ſorts of warlike ammunition and merchandize, brought thither from the inland country; near theſe houſes is a high pair of ſtairs hewn out of the rock, to mount to the top of the caſtle. On the weſt is a ſmall port, not above ſeven or eight fathoms deep, fit for ſmall veſſels, and a very good anchorage; beſides, before the caſtle, at the entry of the river, is a great rock, ſcarce to be deſcried, but at low tides.

No ſooner had the Spaniards perceived the pirates, but they fired inceſſantly at them with the biggeſt of their guns. They came to an anchor in a ſmall port, about a league from the caſtle. Next morning, very early, they went aſhore, and marched through the woods to attack the caſtle on that ſide: this march laſted till two of the clock in the afternoon before they could reach the caſtle, by reaſon of the difficulties of the way, and its mire and dirt; and though their guides ſerved them very exactly, yet they came ſo nigh the caſtle at firſt, that they loſt many of their men by its ſhot, they being in an open place without cover. This much perplexed the pirates, not knowing what courſe to take; for on that ſide, of neceſſity, they muſt make the aſſault; and being uncovered from head to foot, they could not advance one ſtep without danger: beſides that, the caſtle, both for its ſituation and ſtrength, made them much doubt of ſucceſs. But to give it over they

they dared not, leſt they ſhould be reproached by their companions.

At laſt, after many doubts and diſputes, reſolving to hazard the aſſault and their lives deſperately, they advanced towards the caſtle with their ſwords in one hand and fire-balls in the other. The Spaniards defended themſelves very briſkly, ceaſing not to fire at them continually; crying withal, "Come "on, ye Engliſh dogs, enemies to God and our "king; and let your other companions that are behind "come on too, ye ſhall not go to Panama this bout." The pirates making ſome trial to climb the walls, were forced to retreat, reſting themſelves till night, this being come, they returned to the aſſault, to try by the help of their fire-balls to deſtroy the pales before the wall; and while they were about it, there happened a very remarkable accident, which occaſioned their victory. One of the pirates being wounded with an arrow in his back, which pierced his body through, he pulled it out boldly at the ſide of his breaſt, and winding a little cotton about it, he put it into his muſket, and ſhot it back to the caſtle; but the cotton being kindled by the powder, fired two or three houſes in the caſtle, being thatched with palm-leaves, which the Spaniards perceived not ſo ſoon as was neceſſary; for this fire meeting with a parcel of powder blew it up, thereby cauſing great ruin, and no leſs conſternation to the Spaniards, who were not able to put a ſtop to it, not having ſeen it time enough.

The pirates perceiving the effect of the arrow, and the misfortunes of the Spaniards, were infinitely glad; and while they were buſied in quenching the fire, which cauſed a great confuſion for want of water, the pirates took this opportunity, ſetting fire likewiſe to the paliſadeos. The fire thus ſeen at once in ſeveral parts about the caſtle, gave them

great advantage againſt the Spaniards, many breaches being made by the fire among the pales, and great heaps of earth falling into the ditch. Then the pirates climbing up, got over into the caſtle, tho' thoſe Spaniards, who were not buſy about the fire, caſt down many flaming pots full of combuſtible matter and odious ſmells, which deſtroyed many of the Engliſh.

The Spaniards, with all their reſiſtance, could not hinder the paliſadoes from being burnt down before midnight. Mean while the pirates continued in their intention of taking the caſtle; and though the fire was very great, they would creep on the ground, as near as they could, and ſhoot amidſt the flames againſt the Spaniards on the other ſide, and thus killed many from the walls. When day was come, they obſerved all the moveable earth that lay betwixt the pales to be fallen into the ditch; ſo that now thoſe within the caſtle lay equally expoſed to them without, as had been on the contrary before; whereupon the pirates continued ſhooting very furiouſly, and killed many Spaniards; for the governor had charged them to make good thoſe poſts, anſwering to the heaps of earth fallen into the ditch, and cauſed the artillery to be tranſported to the breaches.

The fire within the caſtle ſtill continuing, the pirates from abroad did what they could to hinder its progreſs, by ſhooting inceſſantly againſt it; one party of them was employed only for this, while another watched all the motions of the Spaniards. About noon the Engliſh gained a breach, which the governor himſelf defended with his ſoldiers. Here was made a very courageous reſiſtance by the Spaniards with muſkets, pikes, darts, and ſwords; but thro' all theſe the pirates fought their way till they gained the caſtle. The Spaniards, who remained alive, caſt themſelves down from the caſtle into the ſea, chooſing

ing rather to die thus (few or none ſurviving the fall) than to aſk quarter for their lives. The governor himſelf retreated to the corps du gard, before which were placed two pieces of cannon; here he ſtill defended himſelf, not demanding any quarter, till he was killed with a muſket-ſhot in the head.

The governor being dead, and the corps du gard ſurrendering, they found remaining in it alive 30 men, whereof ſcarce ten were not wounded; theſe informed the pirates that eight or nine of their ſoldiers had deſerted, and were gone to Panama to carry news of their arrival and invaſion. Theſe 30 men alone remained of 314 wherewith the caſtle was garriſoned, among whom not one officer was found alive. Theſe were all made priſoners, and compelled to tell whatever they knew of their deſigns and enterprizes. Among other things, that the governor of Panama had notice ſent him three weeks ago from Carthagena, when the Engliſh were equipping a fleet at Hiſpaniola, with a deſign to take Panama; and beſide, that this had been diſcovered by a deſerter from the pirates at the river de la Hacha, where they had victualled: that upon this, the governor had ſent 164 men to ſtrengthen the garriſon of that caſtle, with much proviſion and ammunition; the ordinary garriſon whereof was only 150 men, but theſe made up 214 men, very well armed. Beſides this they declared, that the governor of Panama had placed ſeveral ambuſcades along the river of Chagre; and that he waited for them in the open fields of Panama with 3000 men.

The taking of this caſtle coſt the pirates exceſſively dear, in compariſon to what they were wont to loſe; their toil and labour was greater than at the conqueſt of the iſle of St. Catherine; for numbering their men, they had loſt above 100, beſide 20 wounded. They commanded the Spaniſh priſoners

ſoners to caſt the dead bodies of their own men from the top of the mountain to the ſea-ſide, and to bury them. The wounded were carried to the church, of which they made an hoſpital, and where alſo they ſhut up the women. Thus it was likewiſe turned into a place of proſtitution, the pirates ceaſing not to defile the bodies of thoſe afflicted widows, with all manner of inſolent actions and threats.

Captain Morgan remained not long behind at St. Catherine's, after taking the caſtle of Chagre, of which he had notice preſently; but before he departed, he embarked all the proviſions could be found, with much maiz, or Indian wheat, and cazave, whereof alſo is made bread in thoſe parts. He tranſported great ſtore of proviſions to the garriſon of Chagre, whenceſoever they could be got. At a certain place they caſt into the ſea all the guns belonging thereto, deſigning to return, and leave that iſland well garriſoned, to the perpetual poſſeſſion of the pirates; but he ordered all the houſes and forts to be fired, except the caſtle of St. Tereſa, which he judged to be the ſtrongeſt and ſecureſt wherein to fortify himſelf at his return from Panama. He carried with him all the priſoners of the iſland, and then ſailed for Chagre, where he arrived in eight days. Here the joy of the whole fleet was ſo great, when they ſpied the Engliſh colours on the caſtle, that they minded not their way into the river, ſo that they loſt four ſhips at the entry thereof, captain Morgan's being one; yet they ſaved all the men and goods. The ſhips too had been preſerved, if a ſtrong northerly wind had not riſen, which caſt them on the rocks at the entry of the river.

Captain Morgan was brought into the caſtle with great acclamations of all the pirates, both of thoſe within and thoſe newly come. Having heard the manner of the conqueſt he commanded all the priſoners

ſoners to work and repair what was neceſſary, eſpecially to ſet up new palliſadoes round the forts of the caſtle. There were ſtill in the river ſome Spaniſh veſſels, called Chatten, ſerving for tranſportation of merchandiſe up and down the river, and to go to Puerto Bello and Nicaragua: theſe commonly carry two great guns of iron, and four ſmall ones of braſs. Theſe veſſels they ſeized, with four little ſhips they found there, and all the canoes. In the caſtle they left a garriſon of 500 men, and in the ſhips in the river 150 more. This done, captain Morgan departed for Panama at the head of 1200 men. He carried little proviſions with him, hoping to provide himſelf ſufficiently among the Spaniards, whom he knew to lie in ambuſcade by the way.

CHAP. XIX.

Captain Morgan departs from Chagre, at the head of 1200 *men, to take the City of Panama.*

CAPTAIN Morgan ſet forth from the caſtle of Chagre, towards Panama, Auguſt 18th, 1670. He had with him 1200 men, 5 boats laden with artillery, and 32 canoes. The firſt day they ſailed only ſix leagues, and came to a place called De los Bracos: here a party of his men went aſhore only to ſleep and ſtretch their limbs, being almoſt crippled with lying too much crowded in the boats. Having reſted a while, they went abroad to ſeek victuals in the neighbouring plantations; but they could find none, the Spaniards being fled, and carrying with them all they had. This day, being the firſt of their journey, they had ſuch ſcarcity of victuals, as the greateſt part were forced to paſs with only a pipe of tobacco, without any other refreſhment.

Next day, about evening, they came to a place called Cruz de Juan Gallego; here they were compelled to leave their boats and canoes, the river being very dry for want of rain, and many trees having fallen into it.

The guides told them, that about 2 leagues farther the country would be very good to continue the journey by land; hereupon they left 160 men on board the boats to defend them, that they might ſerve for a refuge in neceſſity.

Next morning, being the third day, they all went aſhore, except thoſe who were to keep the boats: to theſe captain Morgan gave order under great penalties, that no man, on any pretext whatever, ſhould dare to leave the boats, and go aſhore; fearing leſt they ſhould be ſurprized by an ambuſcade of Spaniards in the neighbouring woods, which appeared ſo thick, as to ſeem almoſt impenetrable. This morning beginning their march, the ways proved ſo bad, that captain Morgan thought it more convenient to tranſport ſome of the men in canoes (though with great labour) to a place farther up the river, called Cerro Bueno: there they re imbarked, and the canoes returned for the reſt; ſo that about night they got all together at the ſaid place. The pirates much deſired to meet ſome Spaniards or Indians, hoping to fill their bellies with victuals, proviſions, being reduced to extremity and hunger.

The fourth day the greateſt part of the pirates marched by land, being led by one of the guides; the reſt went by water further up, being conducted by another guide, who always went before them, to diſcover, on both ſides the river, the ambuſcades. Theſe had alſo ſpies, who were very dextrous to give notice of all accidents, or of the arrival of the pirates, ſix hours, at leaſt, before they came. This day, about noon, they came near a poſt called Tor-

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na Cavallos; here the guide of the canoes cried out, that he perceived an ambuſcade. His voice cauſed infinite joy to all the pirates, hoping to find ſome proviſions to ſatiate their extreme hunger. Being come to the place, they found no body in it, the Spaniards being fled, and leaving nothing behind but a few leathern bags, all empty, and a few crumbs of bread ſcattered on the ground where they had eaten. Being angry at this, they pulled down a few little huts which the Spaniards had made, and fell to eating the leathern bags, to allay the ferment of their ſtomachs, which was now ſo ſharp, as to gnaw their very bowels. Thus they made a huge banquet upon theſe bags of leather, divers quarrels ariſing concerning the greateſt ſhares. By the bigneſs of the place, they conjectured about 500 Spaniards had been there, whom, finding no victuals, they were now infinitely deſirous to meet, intending to devour ſome of them rather than periſh.

Having feaſted themſelves with thoſe pieces of leather, they marched on, till they came about night to another poſt, call'd Torna Munni: here they found another ambuſcade, but as barren as the former. They ſearched the neighbouring woods, but could not find any thing to eat, the Spaniards having been ſo provident, as not to leave, any where, the leaſt crumb of ſuſtenance; whereby the pirates were now brought to this extremity. Here again he was happy that had reſerved ſince noon any bit of leather, to make his ſupper of, drinking after it a good draught of water for his comfort. Some, who never were out of their mother's kitchens, may aſk, how theſe pirates could eat and digeſt thoſe pieces of leather, ſo hard and dry? Whom I anſwer, that could they once experience what hunger, or rather famine is, they would find the way as the pirates did. For theſe firſt ſliced it in pieces, then they

they beat it between two ſtones, and rubbed it, often dipping it in water to make it ſupple and tender: laſtly, they ſcraped off the hair, and broiled it. Being thus cooked, they cut it into ſmall morſels, and eat it, helping it down with frequent gulps of water, which, by good fortune, they had at hand.

The fifth day about noon they came to a place called Barbacoa: here they found traces of another ambuſcade, but the place totally as unprovided as the former. At a ſmall diſtance were ſeveral plantations, which they ſearched very narrowly, but could not find any perſon, animal, or other thing, to relieve their extreme hunger. Finally, having ranged about, and ſearched a long time, they found a grot, which ſeemed to be but lately hewn out of a rock, where were two ſacks of meal, wheat, and like things, with two great jars of wine, and certain fruits called platano's. Captain Morgan knowing ſome of his men were now almoſt dead with hunger, and fearing the ſame of the reſt, cauſed what was found to be diſtributed among them who were in greateſt neceſſity: having refreſhed themſelves with theſe victuals, they marched anew with greater courage than ever. Such as were weak were put into the canoes, and thoſe commanded to land that were in them before. Thus they proſecuted their journey till late at night; when coming to a plantation, they took up their reſt, but without eating any thing: for the Spaniards, as before, had ſwept away all manner of proviſions.

The ſixth day they continued their march, part by land, and part by water: howbeit, they were conſtrained to reſt very frequently, both for the ruggedneſs of the way and their extreme weakneſs, which they endeavoured to relieve by eating leaves of trees and green herbs, or graſs, ſuch was their miſerable condition! This day at noon they arrived

ed at a plantation, where was a barn full of maiz; immediately they beat down the doors, and eat it dry, as much as they could devour; then they diſtributed a great quantity, giving every man a good allowance. Thus provided, and proſecuting their journey for about an hour, they came to another ambuſcade. This they no ſooner diſcovered, but they threw away their maiz, with the ſudden hopes of finding all things in abundance; but they were much deceived, meeting neither Indians nor victuals, nor any thing elſe: but they ſaw, on the other ſide of the river, about 100 Indians, who all fleeing, eſcaped. Some few pirates leaped into the river to croſs it, and try to take any of the Indians, but in vain: for being much more nimble than the pirates, they not only baffled them, but killed two or three with their arrows; houting at them, and crying, *Ha! perros, à la ſavana, à la ſavana.* "Ha! ye "dogs, go to the plain, go to the plain."

This day they could advance no farther, being neceſſitated to paſs the river, to continue their march on the other ſide. Hereupon they repoſed for that night, though their ſleep was not profound; for great murmurings were made at captain Morgan, and his conduct; ſome being deſirous to return home, while others would rather die there than go back a ſtep from their undertaking; others who had greater courage, laughed and joked at their diſcourſes. Mean while, they had a guide, who much comforted them, ſaying, "It would not be long before they "met with people from whom they ſhould reap ſome "conſiderable advantage."

The ſeventh day, in the morning, they made clean their arms, and every one diſcharged his piſtol, or muſket, without bullet, to try their fire locks: this done, they croſſed the river, leaving the poſt where they had reſted, called Santa Cruz, and at

noon

noon they arrived at a village called Cruz. Being yet far from the place, they perceived much ſmoke from the chimnies; the ſight hereof gave them great joy, and hopes of finding people, and plenty of good cheer. Thus they went on as faſt as they could, encouraging one another, ſaying, "There "is ſmoke comes out of every houſe; they are "making good fires, to roaſt and boil what we are "to eat;" and the like.

At length they arrived there, all ſweating and panting, but found no perſon in the town, nor any thing eatable to refreſh themſelves, except good fires, which they wanted not; for the Spaniards, before their departure, had every one ſet fire to his own houſe, except the king's ſtorehouſes and ſtables.

They had not left behind them any beaſt, alive or dead, which much troubled their minds, not finding any thing but a few cats and dogs, which they immediately killed and devoured. At laſt, in the king's ſtables they found, by good fortune, 15 or 16 jars of Peru wine, and a leathern ſack, full of bread. No ſooner had they drank of this wine, when they fell ſick, almoſt every man: this made them think the wine was poiſoned, which cauſed a new conſternation in the whole camp, judging themſelves now to be irrecoverably loſt. But the true reaſon was, their want of ſuſtenance, and the manifold ſorts of traſh they had eaten. Their ſickneſs was ſo great, as cauſed them to remain there till the next morning, without being able to proſecute their journey in the afternoon. This village is ſeated in 9 deg. 2 min. north latitude, diſtant from the river Chagre 26 Spaniſh leagues, and 8 from Panama. This is the laſt place to which boats or canoes can come; for which reaſon they built here ſtorehouſes for all ſorts of merchandize, which to and from Panama are tranſported on the backs of mules.

Here

Here captain Morgan was forced to leave his canoes, and land all his men, though never ſo weak; but leſt the canoes ſhould be ſurprized, or take up too many men for their defence, he ſent them all back to the place where the boats were, except one, which he hid, that it might ſerve to carry intelligence. Many of the Spaniards and Indians of this village having fled to the near plantations, captain Morgan ordered that none ſhould go out of the village, except companies of 100 together, fearing leſt the enemies ſhould take an advantage upon his men. Notwithſtanding one party contravened theſe orders, being tempted with the deſire of victuals; but they were ſoon glad to fly into the town again, being aſſaulted with great fury by ſome Spaniards and Indians, who carried one of them away priſoner. Thus the vigilancy and care of captain Morgan was not ſufficient to prevent every accident.

The eighth day in the morning captain Morgan ſent 200 men before the body of his army, to diſcover the way to Panama, and any ambuſcades therein; the path being ſo narrow, that only ten or twelve perſons could march a-breaſt, and often not ſo many. After ten hours march they came to a place called Quebrada Obſcura; here, all on a ſudden, 3 or 4000 arrows were ſhot at them, they not perceiving whence they came, or who ſhot them; tho' they preſumed it was from a high rocky mountain, from one ſide to the other, whereon was a grot capable of but one horſe, or other beaſt laded. This multiude of arrows much alarmed the pirates, eſpecially becauſe they could not diſcover whence they were diſcharged. At laſt, ſeeing no more arrows, they marched a little farther, and entered a wood: here they perceived ſome Indians to fly as faſt as they could, to take the advantage of another poſt, thence to obſerve their march; yet there remained

mained one troop of Indians on the place, reſolved to fight and defend themſelves, which they did with great courage, till their captain fell down wounded; who, though he deſpaired of life, yet his valour being greater than his ſtrength, would aſk no quarter, but endeavouring to raiſe himſelf, with undaunted mind laid hold of his azagayo, or javelin, and ſtruck at one of the pirates; but before he could ſecond the blow, he was ſhot to death. This was alſo the fate of many of his companions, who, like good ſoldiers, loſt their lives with their captain, for the defence of their country.

The pirates endeavoured to take ſome of the Indians priſoners, but they being ſwifter than the pirates, every one eſcaped, leaving eight pirates dead, and ten wounded: yea, had the Indians been more dextrous in military affairs, they might have defended that paſſage, and not let one man paſs. A little while after they came to a large champaign, open, and full of fine meadows: hence they could perceive at a diſtance before them ſome Indians on the top of a mountain, near the way by which they were to paſs: they ſent fifty men, the nimbleſt they had, to try to catch any of them, and force them to diſcover their companions; but all in vain; for they eſcaped by their nimbleneſs, and preſently ſhewed themſelves in another place, hollowing to the Engliſh, and crying, *A la ſavana, à la ſavana, cornudos, perros Ingleſes:* that is, "To the plain, to the "plain, ye cuckolds, ye Engliſh dogs." Mean while the ten pirates that were wounded, were dreſſed and plaiſtered up.

Here was a wood, and on each ſide a mountain. The Indians poſſeſſed themſelves of one, and the pirates of the other. Captain Morgan was perſuaded the Spaniards had placed an ambuſcade there, it lying ſo conveniently: hereupon he ſent 200 men

to

to ſearch it. The Spaniards and Indians perceiving the pirates deſcend the mountain, did ſo too, as if they deſigned to attack them; but being got into the wood, out of ſight of the pirates, they were ſeen no more, leaving the paſſage open.

About night fell a great rain, which cauſed the pirates to march the faſter, and ſeek for houſes to preſerve their arms from being wet; but the Indians had ſet fire to every one, and driven away all their cattle, that the pirates, finding neither houſes nor victuals, might be conſtrained to return: but, after, diligent ſearch, they found a few ſhepherds huts, but in them nothing to eat. Theſe not holding many men, they placed in them out of every company, a ſmall number, who kept the arms of the reſt; thoſe who remained in the open field, endured much hardſhip that night, the rain not ceaſing till morning.

Next morning, about break of day, being the ninth of this tedious journey, captain Morgan marched on while the freſh air of the morning laſted; for the clouds hanging yet over their heads, were much more favourable than the ſcorching rays of the ſun, the way being now more difficult than before. After two hours march they diſcovered about twenty Spaniards, who obſerved their motions: they endeavoured to catch ſome of them, but could not, they ſuddenly diſappearing and abſconding themſelves in caves among the rocks, unknown to the pirates. At laſt, aſcending a high mountain, they diſcovered the South-Sea: this happy ſight, as if it were the end of their labours, cauſed infinite joy among them; hence they could deſcry alſo one ſhip and ſix boats, which were ſet forth from Panama, and ſailed towards the iſlands of Tovago and Tovagilla; then they came to a vale where they found much cattle, whereof they killed good ſtore;

here,

here, while ſome killed and flayed cows, horſes, bulls, and chiefly aſſes, of which there were moſt, others kindled fires, and got wood to roaſt them; then cutting the fleſh into convenient pieces, or gobbets, they threw them into the fire, and half carbonadoed or roaſted, they devoured them with incredible haſte and appetite; ſuch was their hunger, as they more reſembled cannibals than Europeans, the blood many times running down from their beards to their waiſts.

Having ſatisfied their hunger, captain Morgan ordered them to continue the march. Here, again, he ſent before the main body 50 men to take ſome priſoners, if they could; for he was much concerned, that in nine days he could not meet one perſon to inform him of the condition and force of the Spaniards. About evening they diſcovered about 200 Spaniards, who hollowed to the pirates, but they underſtood not what they ſaid. A little while after they came in ſight of the higheſt ſteeple of Panama; this they no ſooner diſcovered, but they ſhewed ſigns of extreme joy, caſting up their hats into the air, leaping and ſhooting, juſt as if they had already obtained the victory, and accompliſhed their deſigns. All their trumpets ſounded, and drums beat, in token of this alacrity of their minds: thus they pitched their camp for that night, with general content of the whole army, waiting with impatience for the morning, when they intended to attack the city. This evening appeared 50 horſe, who came out of the city, on the noiſe of the drums and trumpets, to obſerve, as it was thought, their motions: they came almoſt within muſket-ſhot of the army, with a trumpet that ſounded marvelouſly well. Thoſe on horſeback hollowed aloud to the pirates, and threatened them, ſaying, *Perros! nos voremos:* that is, "Ye dogs! we ſhall meet ye." Having made this menace, they returned to the city,

except

except only ſeven or eight horſemen, who hovered thereabouts to watch their motions. Immediately after the city fired, and ceaſed not to play their biggeſt guns all night long againſt the camp, but with little or no harm to the pirates, whom they could not eaſily reach. Now alſo the 200 Spaniards, whom the pirates had ſeen in the afternoon, appeared again, making a ſhow of blocking up the paſſages, that no pirates might eſcape their hands. But the pirates, though in a manner beſieged, inſtead of fearing their blockades, as ſoon as they had placed centinels about their camp, opened their ſatchels, and without any napkins or plates, fell to eating, very heartily, the pieces of bulls and horſes fleſh which they had reſerved ſince noon. This done, they laid themſelves down to ſleep on the graſs, with great repoſe and ſatisfaction, expecting only, with impatience, the dawning of the next day.

The tenth day, betimes in the morning, they put all their men in order, and, with drums and trumpets ſounding, marched directly towards the city; but one of the guides deſired captain Morgan not to take the common highway, leſt they ſhould find in it many ambuſcades. He took his advice, and choſe another way through the wood, though very irkſome and difficult. The Spaniards perceiving the pirates had taken another way they ſcarce had thought on, were compelled to leave their ſtops and batteries, and come out to meet them. The governor of Panama put his forces in order, conſiſting of two ſquadrons, four regiments of foot, and a huge number of wild bulls, which were driven by a great number of Indians, with ſome negroes, and others to help them.

The pirates, now upon their march, came to the top of a little hill, whence they had a large proſpect of the city and champaign country underneath;

neath; here they diſcovered the forces of the people of Panama, in battle array, to be ſo numerous, that they were ſurprized with fear, much doubting the fortune of the day; yea, few or none there were but wiſhed themſelves at home, or at leaſt free from the obligation of that engagement, it ſo nearly concerning their lives. Having been ſome time wavering in their minds, they at laſt reflected on the ſtraights they had brought themſelves into, and that now they muſt either fight reſolutely, or die; for no quarter could be expected from an enemy on whom they had committed ſo many cruelties: hereupon they encouraged one another, reſolving to conquer, or ſpend the laſt drop of blood. Then they divided themſelves into three battalions, ſending before 200 Bucaniers, who were very dextrous at their guns; then deſcending the hill, they marched directly towards the Spaniards, who in a ſpacious field waited for their coming. As ſoon as they drew nigh, the Spaniards began to ſhout and cry, *Vive el roy!* "God ſave the king!" and immediately their horſe moved againſt the pirates. But the fields being full of quags, and ſoft under foot, they could not wheel about as they deſired. The 200 Bucaniers who went before, each putting one knee to the ground, began the battle briſkly with a full volley of ſhot: the Spaniards defended themſelves courageouſly, doing all they could to diſorder the pirates. Their foot endeavoured to ſecond the horſe, but were conſtrained by the pirates to leave them. Finding themſelves baffled, they attempted to drive the bulls againſt them behind, to put them into diſorder; but the wild cattle ran away, frighted with the noiſe of the battle; only ſome few broke through the Engliſh companies, and only tore the colours in pieces, while the Bucaniers ſhot every one of them dead.

The

The battle having continued two hours, the greateſt part of the Spaniſh horſe was ruined, and almoſt all killed; the reſt fled, which the foot ſeeing, and that they could not poſſibly prevail, they diſcharged the ſhot they had in their muſkets, and throwing them down, fled away, every one as he could. The pirates could not follow them, being too much harraſſed and wearied with their long journey. Many not being able to fly whither they deſired, hid themſelves, for that preſent, among the ſhrubs of the ſea-ſide, but very unfortunately; for moſt of them being found by the pirates, were inſtantly killed without any quarter. Some religious men were brought priſoners before captain Morgan; but he being deaf to their cries, commanded them all to be piſtolled, which was done. Soon after they brought a captain to him, whom he examined very ſtrictly; particularly, wherein conſiſted the forces of thoſe of Panama? He anſwered, their whole ſtrength conſiſted in 400 horſe, 24 companies of foot, each of 100 men complete; 60 Indians, and ſome negroes, who were to drive 2000 wild bulls upon the Engliſh, and thus by breaking their files, put them into a total diſorder: beſide, that in the city they had made trenches, and raiſed batteries in ſeveral places, in all which they had placed many guns; and that at the entry of the highway leading to the city, they had built a fort, mounted with 8 great braſs guns, defended by 50 men.

Captain Morgan having heard this, gave orders inſtantly to march another way; but firſt he made a review of his men, whereof he found both killed and wounded a conſiderable number, and much greater than had been believed. Of the Spaniards were found 600 dead on the place, beſides the wounded and priſoners. The pirates, nothing diſcouraged on ſeeing their number ſo diminiſhed, but rather

rather filled with greater pride, perceiving what a great advantage they had obtained againſt their enemies, having reſted ſome time, prepared to march courageouſly towards the city, plighting their oaths to one another, that they would fight till not a man was left alive. With this courage they re-commenced their march, either to conquer or be conquered, carrying with them all the priſoners.

They found much difficulty in their approach to the city, for within the town the Spaniards had placed many great guns at ſeveral quarters, ſome charged with ſmall pieces of iron, and others with muſket-bullets; with all theſe they ſaluted the pirates at their approaching, and gave them full and frequent broadſides, firing at them inceſſantly; ſo that unavoidably they loſt at every ſtep great numbers of men. But theſe manifeſt dangers of their lives, nor the ſight of ſo many as dropped continually at their ſides, could deter them from advancing, and gaining ground every moment on the enemy: and though the Spaniards never ceaſed to fire, and act the beſt they could for their defence, yet they were forced to yield, after three hours combat. And the pirates having poſſeſſed themſelves, killed and deſtroyed all that attempted in the leaſt to oppoſe them. The inhabitants had tranſported the beſt of their goods to more remote and occult places; howbeit, they found in the city ſeveral warehouſes well ſtocked with merchandize, as well ſilks, and cloths as linen, and other things of value. As ſoon as the firſt fury of their entrance was over, captain Morgan aſſembled his men, and commanded them, under great penalties, not to drink or taſte any wine; and the reaſon he gave for it was, becauſe he had intelligence that it was all poiſoned by the Spaniards. Howbeit, it was thought he gave theſe prudent orders to prevent the debauchery of his people,

people, which he foreſaw would be very great at the firſt, after ſo much hunger ſuſtained by the way; having withal, leſt the Spaniards, ſeeing them in wine, ſhould rally, and falling on the city uſe them as inhumanly as they had uſed the inhabitants before.

CHAP. XX.

Captain Morgan ſends canoes and boats to the South-ſea. He fires the city of Panama. Robberies and cruelties committed there by the pirates, till their return to the caſtle of Chagre.

CAptain Morgan, as ſoon as he had placed neceſſary guards at ſeveral quarters, within and without the city, commanded twenty-five men to ſeize a great boat which had ſtuck in the mud of the port for want of water at a low tide. The ſame day about noon he cauſed fire privately to be ſet to ſeveral great edifices of the city, no body knowing who were the authors thereof, much leſs on what motives captain Morgan did it, which are unknown to this day: the fire increaſed ſo that before night the greateſt part of the city was in a flame. Captain Morgan pretended the Spaniards had done it, perceiving that his own people reflected on him for that action. Many of the Spaniards, and ſome of the pirates, did what they could, either to quench the flame, or by blowing up houſes with gunpowder, and pulling down others, to ſtop it, but in vain; for in leſs than half an hour it conſumed a whole ſtreet. All the houſes of this city were built with cedar, very curious and magnificent, and richly adorned, eſpecially with hangings and paintings, whereof part were before removed, and another great part were conſumed by fire.

There were in this city (which is the ſee of a biſhop)

eight monaſteries, ſeven for men, and one for women, two ſtately churches, and one hoſpital. The churches and monaſteries were richly adorned with altar-pieces and paintings, much gold and ſilver, with other precious things; all which the eccleſiaſticks had hidden. Beſides which, here were two thouſand houſes of magnificent building, the greateſt part inhabited by merchants vaſtly rich For the reſt of leſs quality, and tradeſmen, this city contained 5,000 more. Here were alſo many ſtables for the horſes and mules that carry the plate of the king of Spain, as well as private men, towards the North-ſea. The neighbouring fields are full of fertile plantations and pleaſant gardens, affording delicious proſpects to the inhabitants all the year.

The Geneoſe had in this city a ſtately houſe for their trade of negroes. This likewiſe was by captain Morgan burnt to very ground, beſides which building, there were conſumed 200 warehouſes, and many ſlaves, who had hid themſelves therein, with innumerable ſacks of meal; the fire of which continued four weeks after it had began. The greateſt part of the pirates ſtill encamped without the city, fearing and expecting the Spaniards would come and fight them anew, it being known they outnumbered the pirates. This made them keep the field, to preſerve their forces united, now much diminiſhed by their loſſes. Their wounded, which were many, they put into one church which remained ſtanding, the reſt being conſumed by the fire. Beſides theſe decreaſes of their men, captain Morgan had ſent a convoy of an 150 men to the caſtle of Chagre, to carry the news of his victory to Panama.

They ſaw often whole troops of Spaniards run to and fro in the fields, which made them ſuſpect their rallying, which they never had the courage to do. In the afternoon captain Morgan re-entered the city with

with his troops, that every one might take up their lodgings, which now they could hardly find, few houſes having eſcaped the fire; then they ſought very carefully among the ruins and aſhes for utenſils of plate or gold, that were not quite waſted by the flames; and of ſuch they found no ſmall number, eſpecially in wells and ciſterns, where the Spaniards had hid them.

Next day captain Morgan diſpatched away two troops of 150 men each, ſtout and well armed, to ſeek for the inhabitants who were eſcaped. Theſe having made ſeveral excurſions up and down the fields, woods, and mountains adjacent, returned after two days, bringing above 200 priſoners, men, women, and ſlaves. The ſame day returned alſo the boat which captain Morgan had ſent to the South-ſea, bringing three other boats which they had taken. But all theſe prizes they could willingly have given, and greater labour into the bargain, for one galleon, which miraculouſly eſcaped, richly laden with all the king's plate, jewels, and other precious goods of the beſt and richeſt merchants of Panama: on board which were alſo the religious women of the nunnery, who had embarked with them all the ornaments of their church, conſiſting in much gold, plate, and other things of great value.

The ſtrength of this galleon was inconſiderable, having only ſeven guns, and ten or twelve muſkets, and very ill provided of victuals, neceſſaries, and freſh water, having no more ſails than the uppermoſt of the mainmaſt: this account the pirates received from ſome who had ſpoke with ſeven mariners belonging to the galleon, who came aſhore in the cock-boat for freſh water. Hence they concluded they might eaſily have taken it, had they given her chace, as they ſhould have done; but they were impeded from following this vaſtly rich prize by their laſcivi-

ous exerciſes with women, which they had carried and forced on board their boat To this vice were alſo joined thoſe of gluttony and drunkenneſs, having plentifully debauched themſelves with ſeveral rich wines they found ready, chooſing rather to ſatiate their luſts and appetites than to lay hold on ſuch huge advantage; ſince this only prize would have been of far greater value than all they got at Panama, and the places thereabouts. Next day, repenting of their negligence, being weary of their vices and debaucheries, they ſet forth another boat well armed, to purſue with all ſpeed the ſaid galleon; but in vain, the Spaniards who were on board having had intelligence of their own danger one or two days before, while the pirates were cruizing ſo near them; whereupon they fled to places more remote and unknown.

The pirates found in the ports of the iſland of Tavoga and Tavogilla ſeveral boats laden with very good merchandize; all which they took, and brought to Panama, where they made an exact relation of all that had paſſed to captain Morgan. The priſoners confirmed what the pirates ſaid, adding, that they undoubtedly knew where the galleon might then be, but that it was very probable they had been relieved before now from other places. This ſtirred up captain Morgan anew to ſend forth all the boats in the port of Panama to ſeek the ſaid galleon till they could find her. Theſe boats, being in all four, after eight days cruizing to and fro, and ſearching ſeveral ports and creeks, loſt all hopes of finding her; hereupon they returned to Tavoga and Tavogilla; here they found a reaſonable good ſhip newly come from Payta, laden with cloth, ſoap, ſugar, and biſket, with 20,000 pieces of eight: this they inſtantly ſeized without the leaſt reſiſtance, as alſo a boat, which was not far off, on which they

laded

laded great part of the merchandizes from the ſhip, with ſome ſlaves. With this purchaſe they returned to Panama ſomewhat better ſatisfied; yet withal much diſcontented that they could not meet with the galleon.

The convoy which captain Morgan had ſent to the caſtle of Chagre returned much about the ſame time, bringing with them very good news: for while captain Morgan was on his journey to Panama, thoſe he had left in the caſtle of Chagre had ſent forth two boats to cruize. Theſe met with a Spaniſh ſhip, which they chaſed within ſight of the caſtle: this being perceived by the pirates in the caſtle, they put forth Spaniſh colours, to deceive the ſhip that fled before the boats; and the poor Spaniards, thinking to take refuge under the caſtle, were caught in a ſnare, and made priſoners. The cargo on board the ſaid veſſel conſiſted in victuals and proviſions, than which nothing could be more opportune for the caſtle, where they began already to want things of that kind.

This good luck of thoſe of Chagre cauſed captain Morgan to ſtay longer at Panama, ordering ſeveral new excurſions into the country round about; and while the pirates at Panama were upon theſe expeditions, thoſe at Chagre were buſy in piracies on the North-ſea. Captain Morgan ſent forth daily parties of 200 men, to make inroads into all the country round about; and when one party came back, another went forth, who ſoon gathered much riches, and many priſoners. Theſe being brought into the city, were put to the moſt exquiſite tortures, to make them confeſs both other people's goods and their own. Here it happened that one poor wretch was found in the houſe of a perſon of quality, who had put on, amidſt the confuſion, a pair of taffety breeches of his maſter's, with a little ſilver key hang-

ing out; perceiving which they aſked him for the cabinet of the ſaid key. His anſwer was, he knew not what was become of it, but that finding thoſe breeches in his maſter's houſe, he had made bold to wear them. Not being able to get any other anſwer, they put him on the rack, and inhumanly disjointed his arms; then they twiſted a cord about his forehead, which they wrung ſo hard, that his eyes appeared as big as eggs, and were ready to fall out. But with theſe torments not obtaining any poſitive anſwer, they hung him up by the teſticles, giving him many blows and ſtripes under that intolerable pain and poſture of body; afterwards they cut of his noſe and ears, and ſinged his face with burning ſtraw till he could not ſpeak, nor lament his miſery any longer: then, loſing all hopes of any confeſſion, they bad a negro run him through, which put an end to his life, and to their inhuman tortures. Thus did many others of thoſe miſerable priſoners finiſh their days, the common ſport and recreation of theſe pirates being ſuch tragedies.

They ſpared, in theſe their cruelties, no ſex nor condition: for as to religious perſons, and prieſts, they granted them leſs quarter than others unleſs they could produce a conſiderable ſum ſufficient for ranſom. Women were no better uſed, except they ſubmitted to their filthy luſts; for ſuch as would not conſent, were treated with all the rigour imaginable. Captain Morgan gave them no good example in this point; for when any beautiful woman was brought priſoner to his preſence, he uſed all means, both of rigour and mildneſs, to bend them to his laſcivious pleaſure. For confirmation of which, I ſhall give a ſhort hiſtory of a lady, whoſe virtue and conſtancy ought to be tranſmitted to poſterity.

Among the priſoners brought by the pirates from Tavoga and Tavogilla was a gentlewoman of good

quality, and no leſs virtue and chaſtity, wife to one of the richeſt merchants there. She was young, and ſo beautiful, as perhaps few in all Europe ſurpaſſed her, either in comelineſs or honeſty. Her huſband then was from home, being gone as far as Peru about his commerce and trade. This virtuous lady, hearing of the pirates coming, had fled, with other friends and relations, to preſerve her life from the cruelties and tyrannies of thoſe hard-hearted enemies; but no ſooner did ſhe appear before captain Morgan, but ſhe was deſigned for his pleaſure. Hereupon he lodged her in an apartment by herſelf, giving her a negro, or black woman, to wait on her, and treated her with all reſpect due to her quality. The poor afflicted lady begged, with many ſobs and tears, to lodge among the other priſoners, her relations fearing that unexpected kindneſs of the commander might be a deſign on her chaſtity. But captain Morgan would by no means hearken to her, but commanded ſhe ſhould be treated with more particular care than before, and have her victuals from his own table.

This lady had formerly heard very ſtrange reports concerning the pirates, as if they were not men, but, as they ſaid, hereticks, who did neither invoke the bleſſed Trinity, nor believe in Jeſus Chriſt. But now ſhe began to have better thoughts of them, upon theſe civilities of captain Morgan; eſpecially hearing him many times ſwear by God and Jeſus Chriſt, in whom, ſhe thought, they did not believe. Nor did ſhe think them to be ſo bad, or to have the ſhapes of beaſts, as had been related. As to the name of robbers or thieves, commonly given them, ſhe wondered not much at it, ſeeing, among all nations of the univerſe, there were wicked men, covetous to poſſeſs the goods of others. Like this was the opinion of another woman of weak underſtanding at Panama, who uſed to ſay, before the pirates came thither, ſhe had a great curioſity to ſee a pirate; her

huſband having often told her, they were not like other men, but rather irrational beaſts. This ſilly woman happening to ſee the firſt of them, cried out aloud, 'Jeſus bleſs me! theſe thieves are like us 'Spaniards.'

This falſe civility of captain Morgan towards this lady, as is uſual to ſuch as pretend, and cannot obtain, was ſoon changed into barbarous cruelty; for after three or four days he came to ſee her, and entertained her with laſcivious diſcourſes, deſiring the accompliſhment of his luſt. The virtuous lady conſtantly denied him with much civility, and many humble and modeſt expreſſions; but captain Morgan ſtill perſiſted in his baſe requeſt, preſenting to her much pearl, gold, and whatever he had that was precious and valuable: but the lady, not willing to conſent or accept his preſents, ſhewing herſelf like Suſannah for conſtancy, he preſently changed his note, and addreſſed her in another tone, threatening a thouſand cruelties and hard uſages: to all which ſhe gave only this reſolute and poſitive anſwer: 'Sir, my life is in 'your hands; but as to my body, in relation to that 'which you would perſwade me to, my ſoul ſhall 'ſooner be ſeparated from it through the violence of 'your arms, than I ſhall condeſcend to your requeſt.' Captain Morgan underſtanding this her heroic reſolution, commanded her to be ſtripped of the beſt of her apparel, and impriſoned in a darkſome ſtinking cellar: here ſhe was allowed a ſmall quantity of meat and drink, wherewith ſhe had much ado to ſuſtain her life.

Under this hardſhip the virtuous lady prayed daily to God Almighty for conſtancy and patience; but captain Morgan, now thoroughly convinced of her chaſte reſolutions, as alſo deſirous to conceal the cauſe of her hard uſage, ſince many of his companions compaſſionated her condition, pretended ſhe held

intelligence

intelligence with the Spaniards, and correſponded with them, abuſing his lenity and kindneſs. I myſelf was an eye-witneſs thereof, and could never have judged ſuch conſtancy and chaſtity to be found in the world, if my own eyes and ears had not aſſured me thereof. But of this incomparable lady I ſhall ſay ſomething more hereafter.

Captain Morgan having now been at Panama full three weeks, commanded all things to be prepared for his departure. He ordered every company of men to ſeek ſo many beaſts of carriage as might convey the whole ſpoil to the river where his canoes lay. About this time there was a great rumour, that a conſiderable number of pirates intended to leave captain Morgan; and that taking a ſhip then in the port, they determined to go and rob on the South-ſea, till they had got as much as they thought fit, and then return homewards by way of the Eaſt-Indies. For which purpoſe they had gathered much proviſions, which they had hid in private places, with ſufficient powder, bullets, and all other ammunition; likewiſe ſome great guns belonging to the town, muſkets, and other things, wherewith they deſigned not only to equip their veſſel, but to fortify themſelves in ſome iſland, which might ſerve them for a place of refuge.

This deſign had certainly taken effect, had not captain Morgan had timely advice of it from one of their comrades; hereupon he commanded the main-maſt of the ſaid ſhip to be cut down, and burnt with all the other boats in the port: hereby the intentions of all, or moſt of his companions, were totally fruſtrated. Then captain Morgan ſent many of the Spaniards into the adjoining fields and country to ſeek for money to ranſom not only themſelves, but the reſt of the priſoners, as likewiſe the eccleſiaſticks. Moreover, he commanded all the artillery of the town to be nailed and ſtopped up. At the ſame time he ſent

out a ſtrong company of men to ſeek for the governor of Panama, of whom intelligence was brought, that he had laid ſeveral ambuſcades in the way by which he ought to return: but they returned ſoon after, ſaying, they had not found any ſign of any ſuch ambuſcades. For confirmation whereof, they brought ſome priſoners, who declared that the ſaid governor had had an intention of making ſome oppoſition by the way, but that the men deſigned to effect it were unwilling to undertake it; ſo that for want of means he could not put his deſign in execution.

February twenty-fourth 1671, captain Morgan departed from Panama, or rather from the place where the city of Panama ſtood; of the ſpoils whereof he carried with him 175 beaſts of carriage, laden with ſilver, and gold, and other precious things, beſide about 600 priſoners, men, women, children, and ſlaves. That day they came to a river that paſſes through a delicious plain, a league from Panama; here captain Morgan put all his forces into good order, ſo as that the priſoners were in the middle, ſurrounded on all ſides with the pirates, where nothing elſe was to be heard but lamentations, cries, ſhrieks, doleful ſighs of ſomany women and children, who feared captain Morgan deſigned to tranſport them all into his own country for ſlaves: beſides, all thoſe miſerable priſoners endured extream hunger and thirſt at that time, which miſery captain Morgan deſignedly cauſed them to ſuſtain, to excite them to ſeek for money to ranſom themſelves, according to the tax he had ſet upon every one. Many of the women begged captain Morgan, on their knees, with infinite ſighs and tears, to let them return to Panama, there to live with their dear huſbands and children in little huts of ſtraw, which they would erect, ſeeing they had no houſes till the rebuilding of the city. But his anſwer was, 'he came not thither to hear lamen-

'tations

'tations and cries, but to ſeek money; therefore they 'ought firſt to ſeek out that, where-ever it was to be 'had, and bring it to him; otherwiſe he would 'aſſuredly tranſport them all to ſuch places, whither 'they cared not to go.'

Next day, when the march began, thoſe lamentable cries and ſhrieks were renewed, ſo as it would have cauſed compaſſion in the hardeſt heart; but captain Morgan, as a man little given to mercy, was not moved in the leaſt. They marched in the ſame order as before, one party of the pirates in the van, the priſoners in the middle, and the reſt of the pirates in the rear, by whom the miſerable Spaniards were at every ſtep punched and thruſt in their backs and ſides with the blunt ends of their arms, to make them march faſter. That beautiful and virtuous lady, mentioned before for her unparallelled conſtancy and chaſtity, was led priſoner by herſelf between two pirates. Her lamentations now pierced the ſkies, ſeeing herſelf carried away into captivity, often crying to the pirates, and telling them, 'that ſhe had given 'orders to two religious perſons, in whom ſhe had 'relied, to go to a certain place, and fetch ſo much 'money as her ranſom did amount to; that they had 'promiſed faithfully to do it, but having obtained the 'money, inſtead of bringing it to her, they had em-'ployed it another way, to ranſom ſome of their own 'and particular friends.' This ill action of theirs was diſcovered by a ſlave, who brought a letter to the ſaid lady. Her complaints, and the cauſe thereof, being brought to captain Morgan, he thought fit to enquire thereinto. Having found it to be true, eſpecially hearing it confirmed by the confeſſion of the ſaid religious men, though under ſome frivolous excuſes, of having diverted the money but for a day or two, in which time they expected more ſums to repay it; he gave liberty to the ſaid lady, whom

otherwiſe he deſigned to tranſport to Jamaica. But he detained the ſaid religious men, as priſoners in her place, uſing them according to their deſerts.

Captain Morgan arriving at the town called Cruz, on the banks of the river Chagre, he publiſhed an order among the priſoners, that within three days every one ſhould bring in their ranſom, under the penalty of being tranſported to Jamaica. Mean while he gave orders for ſo much rice and maiz to be collected thereabouts, as was neceſſary for victualling his ſhips. Here ſome of the priſoners were ranſomed, but many others could not bring in the money. Hereupon he continued his voyage, leaving the village on the fifth of March following, carrying with him all the ſpoil he could. Hence he likewiſe led away ſome new priſoners, inhabitants there, with thoſe of Panama, who had not paid their ranſoms: but the two religious men, who had diverted the lady's money, were ranſomed three days after by other perſons, who had more compaſſion for them than they had ſhewed for her. About the middle of the way to Chagre, captain Morgan commanded them to be muſtered, and cauſed every one to be ſworn, that they had concealed nothing, not even to the value of ſix-pence. This done, captain Morgan knowing thoſe lewd fellows would not ſtick to ſwear falſly for intereſt, he commanded every one to be ſearched very ſtrictly, both in their clothes and ſatchels, and elſewhere. Yea, that this order might not be ill taken by his companions, he permitted himſelf to be ſearched even to his very ſhoes. To this effect, by common conſent, one was aſſigned out of every company to be ſearchers of the reſt. The French pirates that aſſiſted on this expedition diſliked this new practice of ſearching; but being out-numbered by the Engliſh, they were forced to ſubmit as well as the reſt. The ſearch being over, they re-embarked, and arrived at the caſtle

of Chagre on the ninth of March. Here they found all things in good order, excepting the wounded men whom they had left at their departure; for of theſe the greateſt number were dead of their wounds.

From Chagre, captain Morgan ſent preſently after his arrival a great boat to Puerto Bello, with all the priſoners taken at the iſle of St. Catherine, demanding of them a conſiderable ranſom for the caſtle of Chagre, where he then was, threatening otherwiſe to ruin it. To this thoſe of Puerto Bello anſwered, they would not give one farthing towards the ranſom of the ſaid caſtle, and the Engliſh might do with it as they pleaſed. Hereupon the dividend was made of all the ſpoil gotten in that voyage; every company and every particular perſon therein receiving their proportion, or rather what part thereof captain Morgan pleaſed to give them. For the reſt of his companions, even of his own nation, murmured at his proceedings, and told him to his face, that he had reſerved the beſt jewels to himſelf: for they judged it impoſſible that no greater ſhare ſhould belong to them than two hundred pieces of eight per capita, of ſo many valuable plunders they had made; which ſmall ſum they thought too little for ſo much labour, and ſuch dangers as they had been expoſed to. But captain Morgan was deaf to all this, and many other like complaints, having deſigned to cheat them of what he could.

At laſt, finding himſelf obnoxious to many cenſures of his people, and fearing the conſequence, he thought it unſafe to ſtay any longer at Chagre, but ordered the ordnance of the caſtle to be carried on board his ſhips; then he cauſed moſt of the walls to be demoliſhed, the edifices to be burnt, and as many other things ruined, as could be done in a ſhort time: this done, he went ſecretly on board his own ſhip, without

out giving any notice to his companions, and put out to ſea, being only followed by three or four veſſels of the whole fleet. Theſe were ſuch (the French pirates believed) as went ſhares with captain Morgan in the beſt part of the ſpoil, which had been concealed from them in the dividend. The Frenchmen could willingly have revenged themſelves on captain Morgan, and his followers, had they been able to encounter him at ſea; but they were deſtitute of neceſſaries, and had much ado to find ſufficient proviſions for their voyage to Jamaica, he having left them unprovided for all things.

CHAP. XXI.

A voyage made by the author along the coaſt of Coſta Rica, at his return towards Jamaica. What happened moſt remarkable in the ſaid voyage. Some obſervations then made by him.

CAptain Morgan left us all in ſuch a miſerable condition, as lively repreſented what reward attends wickedneſs in the end; whence we ought to have learned to regulate and amend our actions for the future. We were ſo reduced, that every company which was left, whether Engliſh or French, being compelled to help themſelves, moſt of them ſeparated from each other, and ſeveral companies took ſeveral courſes at their return homewards. That party to which I did belong, ſteered along the coaſt of Coſta Rica, to get proviſions, and careen our veſſel in ſome ſecure place or other; for our boat was grown foul, and unfit for ſailing. In a few days we arrived at a great port called Bocca del Toro, where are always multitudes of good eatable tortoiſes. It is about ten leagues in compaſs, ſurrounded with little iſlands, under which veſſels may ride ſecure from violent winds.

Theſe

Theſe iſlands are inhabited by Indians, who never could be ſubdued by the Spaniards; and hence they called them Indios bravos, or wild Indians. They are divided, according to the variety of their language, into ſeveral people, whence it is that they are in perpetual wars. Towards the eaſt-ſide of this port are ſome who formerly did trade much with the pirates, ſelling them the fleſh of divers animals which they hunt, as alſo all ſorts of fruits; the exchange for which was iron inſtruments which the pirates brought, beads, and toys, whereof they made great account for wearing, more than of precious jewels, which they neither knew, nor eſteemed. But this commerce failed, the pirates committing many barbarities, killing their men, and taking away their women to ſerve their luſt, which put an end to all friendſhip and commerce between them.

We went aſhore to ſeek proviſions, our neceſſity being extream; but we could find nothing but a few eggs of crocodiles, wherewith we were forced to be content; hereupon we left thoſe quarters, and ſteered eaſtward: upon this tack we met three boats more of our own companions, who had been left behind by captain Morgan; theſe told us, they had been able to find no relief for their extream hunger, and that captain Morgan himſelf, and his people, were reduced to ſuch miſery, as he could afford them no more than one ſhort allowance a day.

Hearing thus that little or no good was to be expected by ſailing farther eaſtward, we changed our courſe weſtward: here we found a vaſt many tortoiſes more than we needed to victual our boats, though for a long time. Being provided with this ſort of victuals, the next thing we wanted was freſh water: there was enough to be had in the neighbouring iſlands, but we ſcarce dared to land, by reaſon of the enmity aboveſaid between the pirates and

and Indians. But, neceſſity having no law, we were forced to do as we could, not as we deſired. Hereupon we went all of us together to one of the iſlands; being landed, one party of our men ranged the woods, while another filled the barrels with water: ſcarce an hour paſt, when ſuddenly the Indians came upon us, and one of our men cried, Arm, arm. We preſently began to fire at them as hot as we could: this ſtopped them, and in ſhort time put them to flight, ſheltering themſelves in the woods. We purſued them, but not far, deſiring rather to get in our water than any advantage on the enemy. Coming back, we found two Indians dead on the ſhore; the habiliments of one ſhewed him to be a perſon of quality among them; for he had about his body a girdle, or ſaſh, richly woven; and on his face he wore a beard of maſſy gold, I mean a ſmall planch of gold hung down at his lips by two ſtrings which run through two little holes made there on purpoſe, that covered his beard or ſerved inſtead thereof. His arms were made of ſticks of palmito-trees, very curiouſly wrought; at one end whereof was a kind of hook, which ſeemed to be hardened with fire. We ſhould have ſpoken with ſome of theſe Indians, to reconcile them to us, and to renew the former trade, and obtain proviſions, but it was impoſſible, through the ſavageneſs of their minds. However we filled our barrels with water, and carried them aboard.

The night following we heard from ſhore huge cries and ſhricks among the Indians. Theſe lamentations cauſed us to believe that they had called in many more people to their aid, or that they lamented the death of thoſe two men. Theſe Indians never came upon the ſea, or ever built canoes, or any veſſels for navigation, not ſo much as fiſher-boats, of which art of fiſhery they are ignorant. At laſt, having

having nothing elſe to hope for in theſe parts, we reſolved to depart for Jamaica. Being ſet forth, we met with contrary winds, which cauſed us to uſe our oars, and row to the river of Chagre. When we came near it, we perceived a ſhip that began to give us chaſe; we feared it was a ſhip from Carthagena, ſent to rebuild and retake poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Chagre, now the pirates had left it. Hereupon we ſet our ſail, and ran before the wind, to make our eſcape; but the veſſel being much ſwifter and cleaner than ours, eaſily got the wind of us, and ſtopped our courſe. They approaching to us we diſcovered them to be our former comrades in the expedition of Panama, but lately ſent out from Chagre. Their deſign was to go to Nombre de Dios, and thence to Carthagena, to ſeek ſome purchaſe or other: but the wind being contrary, they concluded to go in our company to the place whence we came, called Bocca del Toro.

This accident and encounter retarded our journey two days, more than we could regain in a fortnight; this obliged us to return to our former ſtation for a few days. Thence we directed our courſe for a place called Bocca del Dragon, to get proviſions of fleſh, eſpecially of an animal called by the Spaniards manentine, by the Dutch ſea cow, becauſe its head, noſe and teeth are very like thoſe of a cow. They are found commonly, where, under the depth of the waters, it is full of graſs, on which it is thought they feed. They have no ears, but in place of them, two little holes as wide as one's little finger: near the neck they have two fins, under which they have two udders, like the breaſts of a woman. The ſkin is very cloſe, reſembling the ſkin of a Barbary or Guinea dog. This ſkin on the back is two fingers thick, which being dryed is hard as whalebone and may ſerve to make walking-ſtaffs. The belly is in all things like

like that of a cow, as far as the reins. Their manner of engendering is the ſame with that of a land cow, the male being every way like a bull. They conceive and breed but once; but what time they go with calf, I could not learn. Theſe fiſhes have a very acute ſenſe of hearing, ſo as in taking them, the fiſhermen make not the leaſt noiſe, nor row, unleſs very ſlightly. For this reaſon they uſe certain inſtruments for rowing, by the Indians called Pagaros, by the Spaniards Canelettas, with which they row without any noiſe to fright the fiſh. While they are fiſhing, they ſpeak not one to another, only make ſigns. They dart them with a javelin as they do tortoiſes; but the point of the javelin ſomewhat differs, having two hooks at the end, and being longer. Theſe fiſhes are from twenty to twenty-four feet long. Their fleſh is good to eat, being like in colour to that of a land cow, but in taſte, to pork. It has much fat, or greaſe, which the pirates melt, and keep in earthen pots to uſe inſtead of oil.

Once when we could do any good at this fiſhery, ſome of our men going to hunt, and others to catch fiſh, we eſpied a canoe with two Indians; theſe no ſooner diſcovered our veſſels, but they rowed with all ſpeed towards land, being unwilling to have any thing to do with us pirates; we followed them to the ſhore, but being naturally nimbler than us, they eſcaped into the woods; and, what was more, they drew aſhore and carried with them their canoe into the wood, as eaſily as if it had been ſtraw, though it weighed above 2000 weight; this we knew by the canoe itſelf, which we found afterwards, and had much ado to get into the water again, though we were in all eleven perſons to pull at it.

We had then with us a pilot, who had been often in thoſe parts; this man ſeeing this action of the Indians, told us, that ſome few years before, a ſquadron of

of pirates arriving at that place, they went in canoes to catch ſome little birds, which frequent the ſea-coaſt, among very beautiful trees. While they were buſied, certain Indians who had climbed the trees to view them, ſeeing the canoes underneath, ſuddenly leaped down into the ſea, and ſeized ſome of the canoes and pirates that kept them, both which they carried into the woods, that the priſoners could not be releaſed by their companions. Hereupon the admiral of that ſquadron landed with 500 men to reſcue his men, but they ſaw ſuch a number of Indians flock together to oppoſe them, as obliged them to retreat in haſte to their ſhips, concluding, that if ſuch forces as thoſe could not do any thing towards the recovery of their companions, they ought not to ſtay longer there. Having heard this hiſtory, we came away, fearing ſome miſchief, and bringing with us the canoe, in which we found nothing but a fiſhing-net, not very large, and four arrows made of palm-trees, ſeven feet long each; theſe arrows we believed to be their arms. The canoe we brought away was of cedar, but very roughly hewn, which made us think that thoſe people have no inſtruments of iron.

Leaving that place, we arrived in twenty-four hours at another, called Rio de Zuera, where were ſome few houſes belonging to Carthagena, inhabited by Spaniards, whom we reſolved to viſit, not being able to find any tortoiſes, nor any of their eggs. The inhabitants were all fled, leaving no victuals nor proviſions, ſo we were forced to be contented with a certain fruit they called platanos; with theſe platanos we filled our boats and continued our voyage, coaſting along the ſhore to find out ſome creek or bay, wherein to careen our veſſel, which now was ſo very leaky, that night and day we were conſtrained to put ſeveral men, beſides our ſlaves, to the pump. This voyage laſted a fortnight, all which time we were

were under continual fear of periſhing. At laſt we arrived at a port called the Bay of Blevelt, ſo named from a pirate who uſed to reſort thither, as we did; here one party of men went into the woods to hunt, while another undertook to refit and careen our veſſel.

Our companions who went abroad to hunt, found hereabouts porcupines of a monſtrous bigneſs: but their chief exerciſe was killing of monkeys and birds called by the Spaniards Faiſants or Pheaſants; the toil of ſhooting ſeemed, at leaſt to me, to be ſufficiently compenſated with the pleaſure of killing the monkeys; for at theſe we uſually made fifteen or ſixteen ſhot before we could kill three or four, ſo nimbly would they eſcape our hands and aim, even after being much wounded. Beſides, it was diverſion to ſee the female monkeys carry their little ones at their backs, juſt as the negroes do their children. When any perſon paſſes under the trees where theſe monkeys are ſitting, they will commonly ſquirt their excrements upon their heads and clothes; likewiſe, if ſhooting at a parcel of them, one happen to be wounded, the reſt of them flock about him and lay their paws on the wound to hinder the blood from iſſuing forth; others gather moſs from the trees, and thruſt into the wound, and thereby ſtop the blood. At other times they gather ſuch or ſuch herbs, and chewing them in their mouths, apply them as a poultice. All which cauſed in me great admiration, ſeeing ſuch ſtrange actions in thoſe irrational creatures, which teſtify the fidelity and love they have for one another.

On the ninth day after our arrival, our women ſlaves being buſied in ordinary employments of waſhing of diſhes, ſewing, drawing water out of wells which we had made on the ſhore, and the like, one of them, who had ſeen a troop of Indians towards the woods,

woods, cried out, Indians, Indians! we ran preſently to our arms and their relief, but coming to the wood, we found no perſon there, but two of our women ſlaves killed upon the place with arrows: in their bodies we ſaw ſo many arrows ſticking, as if they had been fixed there with particular care, for otherwiſe we know that one of them was ſufficient to kill any man. Theſe arrows were all of a rare ſhape, being eight feet long, and as thick as a man's thumb; at one end was a hook of wood, tied to the body of the arrow with a ſtring, at the other end was a caſe or box like the caſe of a pair of tweezers, in which we found little pebbles or ſtones; the colour was very red, very ſhining, as if they had been locked up, all which we believed were the arms of their leaders. Theſe arrows were all made without inſtruments of iron; for whatever the Indians make, they harden firſt artificially with fire, and then poliſh them with flints.

Theſe Indians are of a very robuſt conſtitution, ſtrong, and nimble at their feet: we ſought carefully up and down the woods, but could find no track of them, nor any of their canoes nor floats which they uſe in fiſhing; hereupon we retired to our veſſels, where having embarked all our goods, we put off from ſhore, fearing leſt finding us there, they ſhould return and overpower us.

CHAP. XXII.

The author departs towards the cape of Gracias à Dios. The commerce of the pirates with the Indians. His arrival at the iſland de los Pinos; and finally, his return to Jamaica.

THE great feat we had of thoſe Indians, by reaſon of the death of our two women ſlaves, made

made us depart thence as faſt as we could, directing our courſe towards the cape Gracias à Dios, where we placed our laſt hopes of proviſions; for thither uſually reſort many pirates, who friendly correſpond with the Indians there: being arrived at the ſaid cape we rejoiced, and gave thanks to Almighty God, for having delivered us out of ſo many dangers, and brought us to this place of refuge, where we found people, who ſhewed us moſt cordial friendſhip, and provided us with all neceſſaries.

The cuſtom here is, that when pirates arrive, every one has liberty to buy himſelf an Indian woman at the price of a knife, or any old ax, wood-bill, or hatchet. By this contract the woman is obliged to remain with the pirates all the time he ſtays there: ſhe ſerve him in the mean while with victuals of all ſorts that the country affords. The pirate has liberty alſo to go to hunt or fiſh when he pleaſes, or about any other divertiſement, but is not to commit any hoſtility, or depredation, on the inhabitants, ſeeing the Indians bring him in all he needs or deſires.

Through this frequent converſe of theſe Indians with the pirates, they ſome times go to ſea with them and remain with them whole years, without returning home; ſo that many of them can ſpeak Engliſh and French, and ſome of the pirates their Indian language. Being very dextrous at their javelins, they are uſeful to the pirates in victualling their ſhips, by the fiſhery of tortoiſes and manitas, a fiſh ſo called by the Spaniards: for one of theſe Indians is alone able to victual a veſſel of 100 men. We had in our crew, two pirates who could ſpeak the Indian language, by whoſe help I inquired into their cuſtoms, lives, and policy, whereof I ſhall give a brief account.

This iſland is about 30 leagues in circumference; it is governed as a little commonwealth, without

without any king or ſovereign prince; neither do they entertain any friendſhip or correſpondence with other neighbouring iſlands, much leſs with the Spaniards: they are in all but a ſmall nation, whoſe number exceeds not 1600 or 1700 perſons. They have among them a few negro ſlaves, who happened to arrive there, ſwimming after ſhipwreck made on that coaſt: for being bound for Terra Firma, in a ſhip that carried them to be ſold there, they killed the captain and mariners, with deſign to return to their country; but being ignorant of navigation, they ſtranded their veſſel hereabouts. Though, as I ſaid, they make but a ſmall nation, yet they are as it were two ſorts of people: of which one ſort cultivates the ground, and makes plantations; but the other are ſo lazy, as they have no courage to build themſelves huts, much leſs houſes. They frequent chiefly the ſea-coaſt, wandering up and down, without knowing, or caring ſo much as to cover their bodies from the rains (which are very frequent) unleſs with a few palm-leaves; theſe they put on their heads, and keep their backs always to the wind. They uſe no other clothes than an apron tied to their middle, coming down ſo as to hide their privities: ſuch aprons are made of the rinds of trees, which are ſtrongly beat upon ſtones, till they are ſoftened; the ſame they uſe for bedclothes, except a few, who make them of cotton. Their uſual arms are nothing but azagayas, or ſpears, which they make fit for uſe with points of iron, or teeth of crocodiles.

They know, after ſome manner, that there is a God, yet they live without any religion, or divine worſhip; and, as far as I can learn, they believe not in, nor ſerve the devil, as many other nations of America do; hereby they are not ſo much tormented by him as other nations are. Their ordi-

nary

nary food, for the moſt part, conſiſts in ſeveral fruits; ſuch as bananas, racoves, ananas, potatoes, cazave, as alſo crabs, and ſome few fiſh, which they kill in the ſea with darts. They are pretty expert in making certain pleaſant and delicate liquors; the commoneſt among them is called achioc: this is made of a certain ſeed of palm-tree, bruiſed, and ſteeped in hot water, till it be ſettled at bottom; this liquor being ſtrained off, hath a pleaſant taſte, and is very nouriſhing. Other ſorts of liquors they prepare, which I ſhall omit for brevity; only I ſhall ſay ſomething of that made of platanos; theſe they knead with hot water, and then put into great calabaſhes full of cold water, for eight days, during which it ferments as well as the beſt wine: this liquor they drink for pleaſure; and as a great regale; ſo that when they invite their friends or relations, they cannot treat them better than with this pleaſant drink.

They are very unſkilful in dreſſing victuals, ſo that they ſeldom treat one another with banquets; but when they invite others, they deſire them to come and drink of their liquors. Before the invited perſons come to their houſe, thoſe that expect them comb their hair very well, and anoint their faces with oil of palm, mixed with a black tincture; which renders them very hideous: the women alſo daub their faces with another ſort of ſtuff, which makes them look as red as crimſon; and ſuch are their greateſt ornaments and attire. Then he that invites, takes his arms, which are three or four azagayas, and goes out of his cottage 3 or 400 ſteps, to wait for, and receive the invited perſons. As ſoon as they draw nigh, he falls on the ground, lying flat on his face, without any motion, as if he was dead: being thus proſtrate, the invited friends take him up, and ſet him on his feet, and go altogether

gether to the hut: here the perſons invited uſe the ſame ceremony, falling down on the ground, as the inviter did before; but he lifts them up one by one, and giving them his hand, conducts them into his cottage, where he cauſes them to ſit: the women on theſe occaſions uſe few or no ceremonies.

Being thus brought into the houſe, there are preſented every one with a calabaſh, of about four quarts, full of achioc, almoſt as thick as water-gruel, or children's pap; theſe they are to drink off, and get down at any rate: the calabaſhes being emptied, the maſter of the houſe, with many ceremonies, goes about the room, and gathers his calabaſhes: and this drinking is reckoned but for one welcome. Afterwards, they drink of the achioc above-mentioned, to which they are invited; then follow many ſongs, dances, and a thouſand careſſes to the women; ſo that ſometimes, for a teſtimony of their love, they take their darts, and with the points pierce and wound their genital parts: this I could not believe, though often affirmed to me, till my own eyes were witneſſes of theſe and the like actions, neither only on this occaſion do they uſe this ceremony of piercing their genitals, but alſo when they make love to any woman, thereby to let them underſtand the greatneſs of their affection and conſtancy.

They marry not any young maid without the conſent of her parents. If any one deſires to take a wife, he is firſt examined by the damſel's father concerning ſeveral points of good huſbandry. Theſe are commonly whether he can make azagayas, darts for fiſhing, or ſpin a certain thread, which they uſe about their arrows: having anſwered to ſatisfaction, the examiner calls to his daughter for a little calabaſh full of achioc; of this he drinks firſt, then gives the cup to the young man, and he to the

bride, who drinks it up, and with this only ceremony the marriage is made. When any one drinks to the health of another, the ſecond perſon is to drink up the liquor left in the calabaſh. But in caſe of marriage, as was ſaid, it is conſumed only among thoſe three, the bride obtaining the greateſt ſhare.

When the woman lies in, neither ſhe nor her huſband obſerve the time cuſtomary among the Caribbees; but as ſoon as the woman is delivered, ſhe goes to the next river, brook, or fountain, and waſhes the new-born creature, ſwathing it up in certain rollers, or ſwath-bands, there called cabalas; this done, ſhe goes about her ordinary labour. When the man dies, his wife buries him with all his azagayas, aprons, and ear-jewels; and comes every day to her huſband's grave, bringing him meat and drink for a whole year after. Their years they reckon by the moons, allowing fifteen to every year, which make their intire circle, as our twelve months do ours.

Some writers of the Caribbee Iſlands affirm, that this ceremony of carrying victuals to the dead is general among them; and that the devil comes to the ſepulchres, and carries away the meat and drink. But I know the contrary, having often myſelf taken away theſe offerings, and eaten them, knowing that the fruits uſed on theſe occaſions were of the choiceſt, and the liquor of the beſt ſort. The widow having completed her year, opens the grave, and takes out all her huſband's bones; theſe ſhe ſcrapes, and waſhes very well, and dries in the ſun; then ſhe ties them all together, and puts them into a cabalas, or ſachel, and is obliged for another year to carry them upon her back by day, and ſleep upon them by night, till the year is out; then ſhe hangs up the bag and bones againſt the poſt of her own

own door, if ſhe be miſtreſs of a houſe; if not, ſhe hangs them at the door of her next neighbours or relations.

The widows cannot marry the ſecond time, according to their cuſtoms, till after two years end. The men are bound to perform no ſuch ceremonies for their wives; but if any pirate marry an Indian woman, ſhe is bound to do in all things as if he were an Indian. The negroes on this iſland live in all reſpect according to their own cuſtoms. Now I ſhall continue the account of our voyage.

After we had refreſhed and provided ourſelves as well as we could at this iſland, we ſteered towards the iſland de los Pinos. Here we arrived in fifteen days, and were conſtrained to refit our veſſel, which now again was very leaky, and not fit for ſailing any farther. Hereupon we divided ourſelves as before, ſome to careening the ſhip, others to fiſhing. In this laſt we were ſo ſucceſsful, as to take, in ſix or ſeven hours, fiſh ſufficient for one thouſand perſons. We had with us ſome Indians from the cape of Gracias a Dios, very dextrous both in hunting and fiſhing; with whoſe help we ſoon killed likewiſe, and ſalted, a huge number of wild cows, enough to ſatiate our hungry appetites, and to victual our veſſel. Theſe cows were formerly brought into this iſland by the Spaniards, that they might here multiply, and ſtock the country. We ſalted alſo a vaſt number of tortoiſes, which are here very plentiful. Theſe things made us forget the miſeries we had lately endured, and we began to call one another again by the name of brothers, which was cuſtomary amongſt us, but had been diſuſed in our miſeries.

While we continued here, we feaſted ourſelves very plentifully without fear of enemies. For as to the Spaniards on the iſland, they were in friendſhip with us; only we were conſtrained to keep watch

and ward every night for fear of the crocodiles, which ſwarm all over the iſland; for theſe, when they are hungry, will aſſault any man and devour him, as it happened to one of our companions, who being gone into the wood, in company with a negro, they chanced upon a crocodile, which with incredible agility aſſaulted the pirate, and faſtening upon his leg, caſt him on the ground, the negro eſcaping by flight: yet he being a robuſt and courageous man drew forth a knife he had then about him, and after a dangerous combat, ſtabbed the crocodile, which done, himſelf, tired with the battle, and weakened with loſs of blood, lay for dead on the place. Being ſo found by the negro, who returned to ſee what was become of him, he took him on his back, and brought him to the ſea ſide, though a whole league off, where we put him into a canoe, and conveyed him on board.

After this, none of our men dared to enter the woods without good company; and ourſelves, deſirous to revenge the diſaſter of our companion, went in troops next day to the woods to find out crocodiles to kill. Theſe animals would come every night to the ſides of our ſhip, and offer to climb up into the veſſel. One of theſe one night was ſeized with an iron hook; but he, inſtead of flying to the bottom, began to mount the ladder of the ſhip till we killed him with other inſtruments. After we had remained there ſome time, and refreſhed ourſelves, we ſet ſail for Jamaica. Here we arrived in a few days, after a proſperous voyage, and found captain Morgan got home before us; but had ſeen as yet none of his companions whom he left behind, we being the firſt that arrived there after him.

He was then very buſy in perſuading and levying people to tranſport to the iſle of St. Catherine, which he deſigned to fortify, and hold for a common refuge

fuge to all pirates, eſpecially of his own nation, as was ſaid; but this deſign was ſoon hindered by the arrival of a man of war from England, which brought orders from his majeſty of Great Britain to recal the governor of Jamaica to the court of England, to give an account of his favouring the pirates in thoſe parts, to the vaſt detriment to the ſubjects of the king of Spain: the ſaid man of war bringing over alſo a new governor of Jamaica, in place of the precedent. This gentleman entering on the government of the iſland preſently gave notice to all the ports, by ſeveral boats ſent forth to that intent, of the good correſpondence the king of England reſolved to maintain in thoſe parts of the world, towards his catholic majeſty, his ſubjects and dominions: and that for the future, he had received from his ſacred majeſty and privy-council ſtrict and ſevere orders not to permit any pirate to ſet forth from Jamaica, commit any hoſtility or depredation on the Spaniſh nation or dominions, or on any other people of thoſe neighbouring iſlands.

Theſe orders being ſufficiently divulged, the pirates who were abroad at ſea began to fear them, ſo as they dared not return to the ſaid iſland, but kept the ſeas, and continued to act what hoſtilities they could. The ſame pirates took and ranſacked a conſiderable town in the iſle of Cuba, called la Villa de los Calos, which we mentioned in the deſcription of the ſaid iſland. Here they committed again all ſorts of inhuman and barbarous cruelties; but the new governor of Jamaica behaved himſelf ſo conſtant to his duty, and the orders he had from England, that he apprehended ſeveral of the chief actors, and cauſed them to be hanged. This ſeverity made thoſe remaining abroad take warning, and retire to the iſland of Tortuga, leſt they ſhould fall into his hands: here they joined with the French

pirates, inhabitants there, in whoſe company they continue to this day.

CHAP. XXIII.

The relation of the ſhipwreck which monſieur Bertram Ogeron, governor of Tortuga, ſuffered nigh the iſles of Guadanillas. How all his companions fell into the hands of the Spaniards. By what arts he eſcaped their hands, and preſerved his life. The enterprize againſt Puerto Rico to deliver his people, and its unfortunate ſucceſs.

AFTER that expedition of Panama, the inhabitants of the French iſlands in America, in 1673 (while the war was ſo fierce in Europe between France and Holland) gathered a conſiderable fleet to poſſeſs themſelves of the iſlands belonging to the United Provinces in the Weſt-Indies. To this effect their admiral raiſed all the pirates and volunteers that he could perſuade; and the governor of Tortuga cauſed to be built a good ſtrong man of war, which he named Ogeron, and provided very well with ammunition, and manned with 500 Bucaniers, reſolute men, being the veſſel he deſigned for himſelf. Their firſt intention was to take the iſle of Curaſao, belonging to the ſaid States of Holland; but this deſign miſcarried by reaſon of a ſhipwreck.

Ogeron ſet ſail from Tortuga as ſoon as things were ready, to join the fleet, and purſue the ſaid enterprize: being arrived on the Weſt of St. John de Puerto Rico, he was ſuddenly ſurprized with a violent ſtorm to that degree, as drove his new frigate againſt the rocks, near the iſlands called Guadanillas, and broke it in a thouſand pieces; yet being near

near the land of Puerto Rico, all his men ſaved their lives in their boats.

Next day being got on ſhore, they were diſcovered by the Spaniards inhabiting the iſland, who taking them to be French pirates that meant to take the iſland anew, as they had done before, they alarmed the whole country, and gathering their forces together, marched againſt them; and they found them, for want of arms, not able to make any defence, begging quarter for their lives, as the cuſtom is. But the Spaniards, remembering the horrible cruelties thoſe pirates had many times committed, would have no compaſſion on them; but anſwering them, "Hah! ye thieviſh dogs, here's "no quarter for you;" they aſſaulted them very furiouſly, and killed moſt of them. At laſt, perceiving they made no reſiſtance, nor had any arms to defend themſelves, they began to relent, taking priſoners as many as remained alive.

But, being ſtill perſuaded that thoſe unfortunate people came with deſign to take again and ruinate the iſland, they bound them with cords, two and two, or three and three together, and drove them through the woods into the open fields. Being come thus far with them, they aſked them, What was become of their leader? They conſtantly made anſwer, He was drowned in the ſhipwreck, though they knew it was falſe. For Ogeron being unknown to the Spaniards, behaved himſelf among them as an innocent fool, and, in his actions, mimicked the natural ſo well, that he was not tied as the reſt of his companions, but let looſe to ſerve the pleaſure and laughter of the common ſoldiers. Theſe now and then would give him ſcraps of bread and other victuals, whereas the reſt of the priſoners had never ſufficient to ſatisfy their hungry ſtomachs, their al-

lowance from the Spaniards being ſcarce enough to preſerve them alive.

There was among the French pirates a ſurgeon, who having done ſome remarkable ſervices to the Spaniards, was unbound and ſet at liberty to go freely up and down, even as Ogeron did. To this ſurgeon, Ogeron declared his reſolution of attempting an eſcape from the cruelty and hard uſage of thoſe enemies, which they did by fleeing to the woods, there to make ſomething or other wherein to tranſport themſelves elſewhere, though they had nor could obtain no other thing in the world that could be ſerviceable in building of veſſels, but one only hatchet. Thus they began their march towards the woods neareſt the ſea-coaſt. Having travelled all day long, they came about evening to the ſea-ſide, almoſt unexpectedly, but without any thing to eat, or any ſecure place to reſt their wearied limbs. At laſt they perceived nigh the ſhore an huge quantity of fiſhes, called by the Spaniards corladados. Theſe frequently approach the ſands of the ſhore, in purſuit of other little fiſhes that ſerve them for their food. Of theſe they took as many as they thought neceſſary, and by rubbing two ſticks briſkly together, they kindled fire, wherewith they made coals to roaſt them. Next day they began to cut down and prepare timber, to make a kind of ſmall boat to paſs over to the iſle of Santa Cruz which belongs to the French.

While they were buſied about their work, they diſcovered, at a great diſtance, a canoe ſteering directly towards the place where they were. This putting them in ſome fear, leſt they ſhould be found, and taken again by the Spaniards, they retired into the woods, till they could diſcern what people were in the canoe. At laſt, perceiving them to be no more than two men who ſeemed to be fiſher-

men,

men, they concluded to hazard their lives, and, overcoming them, to ſeize the canoe. Soon after they perceived one of them, who was a mulatto, to go with calabaſhes hanging at his back towards a ſpring not far off to take in freſh water: the other, who was a Spaniard, ſtaid behind him for his return. Seeing them divided, they aſſaulted the mulatto firſt, and by a great blow upon the head diſpatched him. The Spaniard upon the noiſe, made towards the canoe, thinking to eſcape, but he was overtaken by the two, and killed. Having compaſſed their deſign, they fetched the corps of the mulatto, and caſt both into the middle of the ſea, to be conſumed by the fiſh, by this means to conceal this fact for ever from the Spaniards.

This done, they took in as much freſh water as they could, and ſet ſail thence to ſeek ſome place of refuge. That day they ſteered along the coaſts of Puerto Rico, and came to Cabo Roxo. Hence they traverſed directly to Hiſpaniola, where many of their own comrades and companions were to be found. The currents of the waters and winds were very favourable, ſo as in a few days they arrived at a place called Samana, in the ſaid iſland, where they found a party of their own people.

Ogeron being landed at Samana, ordered the ſurgeon to levy all the people he could in thoſe parts, while he departed to reviſit his government of Tortuga; where being arrived, he uſed all his endeavours to gather veſſels and men to his aſſiſtance; ſo that in a few days he got a good number of both, well equipped and diſpoſed to follow him. Theſe were to go to St. John de Puerto Rico, and deliver his fellows whom he had left in the miſerable condition as was ſaid before. Having embarked all the people which the ſurgeon had levied at Samana, he made them a ſpeech, telling them, "You may all

" expect great ſpoil and riches from this enterprize, " and therefore let all fear and cowardice be ſet " aſide; on the contrary, fill your hearts with " courage and valour, for thus you will find your- " ſelves ſoon ſatisfied of what at preſent bare hopes " do promiſe." Every one much relied on theſe promiſes of Ogeron, and from his words conceived no ſmall joy in their minds. Thus they ſet ſail from Tortuga for the coaſts of Puerto Rico. Being come within ſight of land, they uſed only their lower ſails, that they might not be diſcovered by the Spaniards, till they came near the place where they intended to land.

The Spaniards, notwithſtanding this caution, having had intelligence of their coming, were prepared for a defence, having poſted many troops of horſe along the coaſts to watch their deſcent. Ogeron perceiving their vigilancy, ordered the veſſels to draw near the ſhore, and ſhoot off many great guns, which forced the cavalry to retire within the woods: here lay concealed many companies of foot proſtrate on the ground. So the pirates made their deſcent at leiſure, and began to enter among the trees, ſcarce ſuſpecting any harm to be where the horſemen could do no ſervice; but no ſooner were they fallen into this ambuſcade, than the Spaniards aroſe and aſſaulted them ſo courageouſly, that they ſoon deſtroyed great part of them. Thus leaving great numbers dead on the place, the reſt very hardly eſcaped by flight to their ſhips.

Ogeron, though he eſcaped this danger, yet could willingly have periſhed in the fight, rather than ſuffer the ſhame which the ill ſucceſs of this enterprize was like to bring upon his reputation: beſide that, thoſe that he had attempted to reſcue, were now caſt into greater miſeries. Hereupon they haſtened back to Tortuga the ſame way they came, with

with great confuſion in their minds, much diminiſhed in their number, and utterly diſappointed of thoſe ſpoils, the ſubject of their hopes, and of the promiſes of the unfortunate Ogeron. The Spaniards were very vigilant, and kept their poſts near the ſea-ſide till the fleet of pirates was out of ſight; mean while they made an end of killing ſuch of their enemies, as being deſperately wounded, could not eſcape by flight, and cut off ſeveral limbs from the dead bodies, to ſhew them to the former priſoners, for whoſe reſcue theſe others had croſſed the ſeas.

The fleet being gone, the Spaniards made bonfires, and great demonſtrations of joy for their victory; but the French priſoners, who were there before, endured more hardſhip than ever. Of their miſery and miſuſage, Jacob Binkes, governor at that time in America for the States General of the United Provinces, was an eye-witneſs; for he arriving in that juncture at Puerto Rico, with ſome men of war, to buy proviſions and other neceſſaries, he ſo pitied their miſery, as to bring away by ſtealth five or ſix of them, which only exaſperated the Spaniards; for ſoon after they ſent the reſt of the priſoners to the chief city of the iſland, to work and toil about the fortifications which then were making, forcing them to bring and carry ſtones, and all ſorts of materials: theſe being finiſhed, the governor tranſported them to Havanna, where they employed them alſo in fortifying that city: here they made them work by day, and at night they ſhut them up as cloſe priſoners, leſt they ſhould enterprize upon the city; for of ſuch attempts the Spaniards had had divers proofs, which gave them ſufficient cauſe to uſe them ſo.

Afterwards, at ſeveral times, when ſhips arrived from New-Spain, they tranſported them by degrees

into Europe, and landed them at Cadiz; but notwithſtanding this care of the Spaniards to diſperſe them, they ſoon after met almoſt all in France, and reſolved to return to Tortuga with the firſt opportunity: to this effect they aſſiſted one another very lovingly with what neceſſaries they could, according to every one's condition; ſo that in a ſhort while the greateſt part had neſted themſelves again at Tortuga, their place of rendezvous. Here they equipped again a new fleet to revenge their former misfortunes on the Spaniards, under the conduct of one le Sieur Maintenon a Frenchman; with this fleet he arrived at the iſland de la Trinidad, between the iſle of Tobago and the coaſts of Paria. This iſland they ſacked, and after put to the ranſom of one hundred thouſand pieces of eight. Hence they departed with deſign to take and pillage the city of Caracas, over-againſt the iſland of Curaſao, belonging to the Hollanders.

CHAP. XXIV.

Encounters at the iſlands of Cayana and Tobago, between the count d'Eſtrees, admiral of France in America, and the Heer Jacob Binkes, vice-admiral of the United Provinces.

IT is already known to the greateſt part of Europe, that the prince of Courland began to eſtabliſh a colony in the iſland of Tobago; and that ſome time after his people, for want of timely recruits, abandoned the ſame, leaving it to the next occupant. Thus it fell into the hands of Adrian and Cornelius Lampeſius, natives of Fliſſing in Zealand, who arriving there in 1654, they fortified it by the order of the States General, building a good-

ly caſtle, in a convenient ſituation, capable of hindering the aſſaults of any enemies.

The ſtrength of this caſtle was afterwards ſufficiently tried by monſieur d'Eſtrees, as I ſhall relate, after I have firſt told you what happened before Cayana in 1676. This year the States General ſent the vice-admiral, Jacob Binkes, to the iſland of Cayana, then in poſſeſſion of the French, to repoſſeſs it. With theſe orders he ſet forth from Holland, March 16th in the ſaid year, with a fleet of ſeven men of war, one fire-ſhip, and five other ſmall veſſels. This fleet arrived at Cayana, May 4th next following. Upon their arrival, the Heer Binkes landed 900 men, who approaching the caſtle, ſummoned the governor to ſurrender at diſcretion. He anſwered, "He thought of nothing leſs than ſurrendering, but that he and his people were reſolved to defend themſelves to the utmoſt." The Heer Binkes having received this anſwer, preſently commanded his troops to attack the caſtle on both ſides at once; the aſſault was very furious, but at length the French being very few, and overwhelmed with the multitude of their enemies, ſurrendered both their arms and the caſtle. In it were found 37 pieces of cannon. The governor, named monſieur Leſi, with two prieſts, were ſent into Holland. The Heer Binkes loſt in the combat 14 men only, and had 72 wounded.

The French king no ſooner underſtood this, but he ſent in October following the count d'Eſtrees to retake the ſaid iſland from the Hollanders. He arrived there in December with a ſquadron of men of war, all well equipped and provided. Being come as far as the river Aperovaco, he met with a ſmall veſſel of Nantes, which had ſet forth from Cayana but a fortnight before, which gave him intelligence of the condition wherein he might be certain to find

find the Hollanders at Cayana. They told them there were 300 men in the caſtle, that all about it they had fixed ſtrong paliſadoes or empalements, and that within the caſtle were mounted 26 pieces of cannon.

Monſieur d'Eſtrees being enabled with this intelligence to take his own meaſures, proceeded on his voyage, and arrived at the port of the ſaid iſland, three leagues from the caſtle; here he landed 800 men in two ſeveral parties; one he placed under the count de Blinac, and the other under monſieur de St. Faucher. On board the fleet he left monſieur Gabaret, with divers other principal troops, which he thought not neceſſary to be landed. The men being ſet on ſhore, the fleet weighed anchor, and ſailed very ſlowly toward the caſtle, while the ſoldiers marched by land. Theſe could not travel otherwiſe than by nights, by reaſon of the exceſſive heats and intolerable exhalations of the earth, which here is very ſulphurous, and no better than a ſmoaky and ſtinking oven.

October 19th, the count d'Eſtrees ſent monſieur de Leſi (who had been governor of the iſland, as was ſaid before) demanding of them to deliver the caſtle to the obedience of the king his maſter, and to him in his ſovereign's name. But thoſe within reſolved not to yield, but at the expence of their lives and blood; which anſwer they ſent to monſieur d'Eſtrees. Hereupon the French, the next night, ſtormed the caſtle on ſeven ſeveral ſides at once. The defendants having done their duty, and fought with as much valour as poſſible, were at laſt forced to ſurrender, having 38 perſons killed, beſides many wounded. All the priſoners were tranſported into France, where they were uſed with great hardſhip.

Monſieur

Monſieur d'Eſtrees having ſettled all things at the iſle of Cayana, departed thence for Martinico, where being arrived, he was told, that the Heer Binkes was then at the iſland of Tobago, and his fleet lay at anchor in the bay. Upon this intelligence, monſieur d'Eſtrees made no long ſtay there, but ſteered directly for Tobago. No ſooner was he come nigh the iſland, but vice-admiral Binkes ſent his land-forces with a good number of mariners on ſhore to manage and defend the artillery there. Theſe forces were commanded by the captains Vander Graaf, Van Dongen, and Ciavone, who laboured very hard all that night in raiſing batteries, and filling up the paliſadoes of the fortreſs called Sterrſchans.

Two days after the French fleet came to an anchor in the bay of Palmit, and immediately in eighteen boats they landed all their men. The Heer Binkes perceiving the French upon the hills, gave orders to burn all the houſes near the caſtle, that the French might have no place to ſhelter themſelves there. February 23d, monſieur d'Eſtrees ſent a drum to the Hollanders to demand the ſurrendry of the fort, which was abſolutely denied. Thus things continued till the 3d of March: on this day the French fleet came with full ſail, and engaged the Dutch fleet, and the diſpute was very hot on both ſides; mean-time, the land-forces of the French being ſheltered by the thickneſs of the woods, advanced towards the caſtle, and ſtormed it very briſkly; but were repulſed by the Dutch with ſuch vigour, as cauſed them after three ſeveral attacks to retire, with the loſs of above 150 men, and 200 wounded; theſe they carried off, or rather dragged away with no ſmall difficulty, by reaſon of their diſorderly retreat.

All this while the two fleets continued the combat, and fought very deſperately, till on both ſides ſome ſhips were conſumed between Vulcan and Neptune;

tune; of this number was monſieur d'Eſtrees his own ſhip, mounted with 27 guns of prodigious bigneſs, beſides ſmaller pieces. The battle laſted from break of day till evening; a little before which time monſieur d'Eſtrees quitted the bay with the reſt of the ſhips to the Hollanders, except two, which were ſtranded under ſail, having gone too high within the port, leaving the victory to the Hollanders, though with the loſs of ſeveral ſhips that were burnt.

Monſieur d'Eſtrees finding himſelf under the ſhame of this defeat, and that he could expect no advantage for the preſent over the iſland of Tobago, ſet ſail from thence March 18th, and June 21ſt he arrived at Breſt in France. Having given an account of himſelf to the king, he was commanded to undertake again the enterprize of Tobago. To this effect he ordered eight great men of war and eight ſmaller to be equipped with all ſpeed, with which monſieur d'Eſtrees ſet ſail from the ſaid port of Breſt, October 3d following, and arrived December 1ſt at Barbadoes. Having received ſome recruits from Martinico, he ſent before-hand to review Tobago, and ſet ſail directly for the ſame, where he arrived December 7th, with all his fleet.

Immediately he landed 500 men under monſieur de Blinac, governor of the French iſlands in America; theſe were followed ſoon after by a thouſand more. December 9th, they approached within 600 paces of a poſt called le Cort, where they landed the artillery deſigned for this enterprize. On the 10th monſieur d'Eſtrees went in perſon to view the caſtle, and demanded of the Heer Binkes, by a meſſenger, the ſurrendry thereof, which was generouſly denied. Next day the French advanced towards the caſtle, and on the 12th, the Dutch from within fired at them without intermiſſion. The French

begun

began their attack by casting fireballs into the caſtle with main violence, the very third ball that was caſt in, happened to fall in the path-way that led to the ſtorehouſe, where the powder and ammunition were kept; in this path was much powder ſcattered, through the negligence of thoſe that carried it to and fro, for the neceſſary ſupply of the defendants, which by this means taking fire, it ran in a moment to the ſtorehouſe, which ſuddenly was blown up, and with it vice-admiral Binkes himſelf, and all his officers, only captain Van Dongen remained alive. This miſchance being perceived by the French, they inſtantly ran with 500 men, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtle: here they found 300 men alive, whom they took priſoners, and tranſported into France. Monſieur d'Eſtrees, after this, commanded the caſtle to be demoliſhed, with other poſts that might ſerve for any defence, as alſo all the houſes ſtanding upon the iſland; this done, he departed thence December 27th, and arrived again in France after a proſperous voyage.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

BUCANIERS, &c.

IN

AMERICA.

PART II.

The dangerous voyage and bold adventures of captain Sharp, Coxon, Sawkins, and others in the South-Sea.

CHAP. I.

They ſet ſail for the province of Darien, upon the continent of America. Their deſigns to pillage and plunder in thoſe parts. Number of their ſhips, and ſtrength of their forces by ſea and land.

AT a place called Bocca del Toro was the general rendezvous of the fleet, which lately had taken and ſacked Puerto Bello the ſecond time; that rich place having been taken once before under the conduct of Sir Henry Morgan. At this place were two other veſſels; the one belonging to captain Peter Harris, the other to captain Richard Sawkins, two Engliſh privateers. Here we had the news of a peace concluded between the Spaniards and the Indians of Darien, who were commonly at war one with the other. Alſo, that ſince the concluſion

cluſion of the ſaid peace, they had been found very faithful to captain Bournano, a French commander, in an attempt upon a place called Chepo, nigh the South-Sea. Further, that the Indians had promiſed to conduct him unto a great and very rich place, named Tocamora; whereupon Bournano promiſed them to return in three months with more ſhips and men. This made us agree to viſit the ſaid place, and in order thereto diſperſed ourſelves into ſeveral Coves (by the Spaniards called Cuevas, *i. e.* hollow creeks under the coaſts) there to careen and fit our veſſels for that purpoſe. Here, *i. e.* at Bocca del Toro, we found plenty of fat tortoiſes, the pleaſanteſt meat in the world. Our veſſels being refitted, we rendezvouſed at an iſland called by us the Water-Key, and our ſtrength was as followeth:

	Tons.	Guns.	Men.
Capt. Coxon in a ſhip of	80	8	97
Capt. Harris in another of	150	25	107
Capt. Bournano — —	90	6	86
Capt. Sawkins — —	16	1	35
Capt. Sharp — — —	25	2	40
Capt. Cook — — —	35	0	43
Capt. Alleſton — —	18	0	24
Capt. Row — — —	20	0	25
Capt. Macket — —	14	0	20
Total — —	448	42	477

We ſailed from thence March 23d, 1679, and in our way touched at the iſlands called Zamblas. Theſe iſlands reach eight leagues in length, lying fourteen leagues weſtward of the river Darien. Being here at an anchor, many of the Indians, both men and women, came to ſee us; ſome brought plantanes, others other fruits, and veniſon, to exchange with us for beads, needles, knives, or any trifling bauble whereof

whereof they ſtand in need; but they moſt covet axes and hatchets, for the felling of timber. The men here go naked, having only a ſharp and hollow tip, made either of gold, ſilver, or bark, into which they thruſt their privy members, which they faſten with a ſtring about their middle: they wear as an ornament in their noſes, a gold or ſilver plate, in the form of a half-moon; which when they drink, they hold up with one hand, while they lift the cup with the other. The men paint themſelves ſometimes with ſtreaks of black, and the women with red: the women have in their noſes a pretty thick ring of gold or ſilver, and cover themſelves with a blanket only: they are generally well featured; among whom I ſaw ſeveral fairer than the faireſt of Europe, with hair as white as the fineſt flax: it is reported of them, that they ſee better in the dark than in the light.

Theſe Indians miſliked our deſign for Tocamora, and diſſuaded us from it, aſſerting that it would prove too tedious a march, the way being ſo mountainous and uninhabited, that it would be extreme difficult to get proviſions for our men. Withal, they proffered to guide us undeſcried within a few leagues of the city of Panama, in caſe we were pleaſed to go thither, where we knew we ſhould make a good voyage. Upon theſe, and other reaſons which they gave us, we concluded to deſiſt from the journey of Tocamora, and to proceed to Panama. Theſe reſolutions taken, captain Bournano and captain Row's veſſels ſeparated from us, being all French, and not willing to go to Panama, they declaring themſelves generally againſt a long march by land; ſo we left them at the Zamblas. From thence an Indian captain, or chief commander, named Andræas, conducted us to another iſland, called by the Engliſh the Golden Iſland, ſituated

ſomething

ſomething to the weſtward of the mouth of the great river of Darien. At this iſland we met, being in all ſeven ſail, April 3, 1680.

Here the Indians gave us notice of a town called Santa Maria, ſituate on a great river of the ſame name, which runs into the South-Sea, by the gulph of San Miguel; that in the town was kept a garriſon of four hundred ſoldiers; and that from this place much gold was carried to Panama, which was gathered from the mountains thereabouts; that in caſe we ſhould not find ſufficient booty there, we might from thence proceed by ſea to Panama, where we could not eaſily fail of our deſigns. This motion of the Indians we liked ſo well, that we landed 331 men, April 5th, 1680, leaving captains Alleſton and Macket, with a party of ſeamen, to guard our ſhips in our abſence, with which we intended to return home.

Theſe men that were landed, had each of them three or four cakes of bread (called by the Engliſh, Dough-boys) for their proviſion of victuals; and as for drink, the rivers afforded them enough. At our landing here captain Sharp was very faint and weak, having had a great fit of ſickneſs, of which he was ſcarcely recovered. Our ſeveral companies that marched were diſtinguiſhed as follows: Firſt, captain Bartholomew Sharp, with his company, had a red flag, with a bunch of white and green ribbons: the ſecond diviſion, led by captain Richard Sawkins, with his men, had a red flag ſtriped with yellow: the third and fourth, which were led by captain Peter Harris, had two green flags, his company marching in two diſtinct diviſions: the fifth and ſixth, led by captain John Coxon, who had ſome of Alleſton's and Macket's men joined unto his, made two diviſions or companies, and had each of them a red flag: the ſeventh was led by captain Edmund

Edmund Cook, with red colours ſtriped with yellow, with a hand and ſword for his device: all, or moſt of them, were armed with fuzée, piſtol, and hanger.

CHAP. II.

They march towards the town of Santa Maria with a deſign to take it. The Indian king of Darien meeteth them. Difficulties of this march.

BEING landed on the coaſt of Darien, and divided into companies, as was mentioned in the preceding chapter, we began our march towards Santa Maria, the Indians ſerving us for guides in that unknown country: thus we marched at firſt through a ſmall ſkirt of a wood, and then over a bay almoſt a league in length; after that, we went two leagues directly up a woody valley, where we ſaw here and there an old plantation, and had a very good path to march in: there we came to the ſide of a river, which in moſt places was dry, and built us houſes, or rather huts to lodge in.

Here another Indian, who was a chief commander, a man of great parts, named captain Antonio, joined us: this Indian officer mightily encouraged us to undertake the journey of Santa Maria, and promiſed to be our leader; ſaying, that he would have gone along with us preſently, but that his child lay very ſick; however, he was aſſured it would die by next day, and then he would moſt certainly follow and overtake us: withal, he deſired we would not lie in the graſs, for fear of monſtrous adders which are very frequent in thoſe places: Breaking ſome of the ſtones that lay in the river, we found them ſhine like ſparks of gold. Theſe ſtones are driven down from the neighbouring mountains in time of floods. This

days

day four of our men tired, and returned back to the ſhips; ſo we remained in all 327 men with ſix Indians to conduct us: that night ſome ſhowers of rain fell.

The next day of our march we mounted a very ſteep hill, and on the other ſide, at the foot thereof, we reſted on the bank of the river, which captain Andræas told us ran into the South-Sea, being the ſame river on which the town of Santa Maria was ſituate. Hence we continued our march until noon, and then aſcended another mountain, far higher than the former. Here we were often, and in many places, in great danger, the mountain being ſo perpendicular, and the path ſo narrow, that but one man at a time could paſs. We arrived in the evening on the other ſide of the mountain, and lodged again by the ſide of the ſame river, having marched that day, according to our reckoning, about 18 miles: this night likewiſe ſome rain fell.

The next morning, being April 7th, we marched all along the river afore-mentioned, croſſing it often, almoſt at every half mile, ſometimes up to the knees, and at other times up to the middle, in a very ſwift current; about noon we came to a place where we found ſome Indian houſes; theſe were very large and neat; the ſides were built with cabbage-trees, and the roofs with wild canes, thatched with palmito royal, but much neater than ours at Jamaica; they had many partitions, or diſtinct ground-rooms, but no aſcent by ſtairs. At this place were four of theſe houſes together, within a ſtone's throw of one another, each of them having a large plantane-walk before it. Half a mile from this place lived the king, or chief captain of theſe Indians of Darien, who came to viſit us in royal robes, with his queen and family. His crown was made of ſmall white reeds curiouſly woven, having no other top than its lining, which

which was red ſilk: round about the middle of it was a thin plate of gold, about two inches broad, laced behind, in which ſtuck two or three oſtrich's feathers; about this plate went alſo a row of golden beads, which were bigger than ordinary peaſe, underneath which the red lining of the crown was ſeen. In his noſe he wore a large plate of gold, in form of a half-moon; and in each ear a great gold ring, nigh four inches diameter, with a round thin plate of gold of the ſame breadth, having a ſmall hole in the center, by which it hung to the ring. He was covered with a thin white cotton robe, reaching to the ſmall of his legs, and round its bottom was a fringe of the ſame, three inches deep; ſo that by reaſon of the length of this robe, we could ſee no higher than his naked ancles: in his hand he had a long bright lance as ſharp as any knife. With him he had three ſons, each of them having a white robe, and their lances in their hands, but ſtanding bare-headed before him, as did eight or nine perſons more of his retinue or guard. His queen wore a red blanket, which was cloſely girt about her waiſt, another that came looſely over her head and ſhoulders, like our old-faſhioned ſtriped hangings: ſhe had a young child in her arms, and two daughters walked by her, both marriageable, with their faces almoſt covered with ſtripes or ſtreaks of red, and about their neck and arms almoſt loaden with ſmall beads of ſeveral colours. Theſe Indian women of the province of Darien are generally very free, airy, and briſk; yet withal very modeſt, and cautious in their huſbands preſence, of whoſe jealouſy they ſtand in fear. With theſe Indians we made an exchange, or had a truck, as it is called, for knives, pins, needles, or any other ſuch like trifles; but in our dealings with them we found them to be very cunning. Here we reſted ourſelves

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for the ſpace of one day; and withal choſe captain Sawkins to lead the forlorn, unto whom, for that purpoſe, we gave the choice of fourſcore men. The king ordered us each man to have three plantanes, with ſugar canes to ſuck, by way of a preſent; but when theſe were conſumed, if we would not truck we muſt have ſtarved, for the king himſelf did not refuſe to deal for his plantanes: this ſort of fruit is firſt reduced to maſh, then laid between leaves of the ſame tree, and ſo ſteeped with water, after which preparation they call it Miſcenaw.

April nine we continued our march along the banks of the river above-mentioned, finding in our way here and there a houſe. The owners of the ſaid houſes would moſt commonly ſtand at the door, and give, as we paſſed by, to every one of us, either ripe plantane, or ſome ſweet cazove-root: ſome of them would count us by dropping a grain of corn for each man that paſſed before them, for they know no greater number, nor can tell farther than twenty. That night we arrived at three great Indian houſes, where we took up our lodgings, the weather being clear and ſerene all night.

The next day captain Sharp, captain Coxon, and captain Cook, with about threeſcore and ten of our men, embarked themſelves in fourteen canoes upon the river to glide down the ſtream: among this number I did alſo embark, and we had in our company our Indian captain Andræas, of whom mention was made above; and two Indians more in each canoe, to pilot or guide us down the river: but if we were tired in travelling by land before, certainly we were in a worſe condition now in our canoes; for at the diſtance of almoſt every ſtone's caſt we were conſtrained to quit and get out of our boats, and haul them over either ſands or rocks; at other times over trees that lay croſs and filled up the river, ſo

that they hindered our navigation; yea, ſeveral times over the very points of land itſelf. That night we built ourſelves huts to ſhelter in upon the river-ſide, and reſted our wearied limbs till next morning.

The eleventh we proſecuted our journey all day long with the ſame fatigue and toil as we had done the day before: at night came a tyger, and looked on us for ſome while, but we dared not to fire at the animal, fearing we ſhould be deſcried by the ſound of our fuzees; the Spaniards, as we were told, not being at much diſtance from that place.

But the next day, being April 12, our pain and labour was rather doubled than diminiſhed, not only for the difficulties of the way, which were intolerable, but chiefly for the abſence of our main body of men, from whom we had parted the day before: for now, hearing no news of them, we grew extremely jealous of the Indians, and their counſels, ſuſpecting it a deſign of thoſe people thus to divide our forces, and then betray us to the Spaniards, our implacable enemies: that night we reſted ourſelves by building of huts, as we had done, and hath been mentioned before.

The next day, being Tueſday, we continued our navigation down the river, and arrived at a beachy point of land, where another arm joineth the ſame river: here, as we underſtood, the Indians of Darien did uſually rendezvous, whenſoever they drew up in a body, with intention to fight their ancient enemies the Spaniards. Here alſo we made a halt, and ſtaid for the reſt of our forces and company, the Indians having now ſent to ſeek them, being themſelves not a little concerned at our diſſatisfaction and jealouſies: in the afternoon our companions came up with us, and were very glad to ſee us, they having been in

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no leſs fear for us than we had been in for them: we continued and reſted there that night alſo, with deſign to fit our arms for action, which now, as we were told, was nigh at hand.

We departed from thence early the next morning, which was the laſt day of our march; being in all now the number of threeſcore and eight canoes, wherein were embarked 327 of us Engliſhmen, and 50 Indians who ſerved us for guides. To the point above-mentioned, the Indians had hitherto guided our canoes with long poles or ſticks; but now we made ourſelves oars and paddles to row withal, and thereby made what ſpeed we could: thus we rowed with all haſte imaginable, and on the river happened to meet two or three Indian canoes that were laden with plantanes. About midnight we arrived, and landed at the diſtance of half a mile, or thereabouts, from the town of Santa Maria, whither our march was all along intended: the place where we landed was very muddy, inſomuch that we were conſtrained to lay our paddles upon it, and withal lift ourſelves up by the boughs of the trees to ſupport our bodies from ſinking: afterwards we were forced to cut our way through the woods for ſome ſpace, where we took up our lodgings for that night, for fear of being diſcovered by the enemy, whom we were ſo near.

CHAP. III.

They take the town of Santa Maria, with no leſs of men, but meet not with ſo much booty as was expected. Deſcription of the place, country, and river adjacent. They reſolve to go and plunder a ſecond time the city of Panama.

THE next morning, which was Thurſday, April 15, about break of day, we heard from the town a ſmall arm diſcharged, and after that a drum beating a revailler; with this we rouzed from our ſleep, and

taking to our arms, we put ourſelves in order, and marched towards the town. As ſoon as we came out of the woods into the open ground, we were deſcried by the Spaniards, who had received beforehand intelligence of our coming, and were prepared to receive us, having already conveyed away all their treaſure of gold, and ſent it to Panama. They ran immediately into a large paliſado fort, having each pale or poſt twelve feet high, and began to fire very briſkly at us as we came; but our vanguard ran up to the place, and pulling down two or three of their paliſadoes, entered the fort inſtantly, and made themſelves maſters thereof. In this action there were not fifty of our men that came up before the fort was taken; and on our ſide only two were wounded, and not one killed; notwithſtanding within the place were found two hundred and threeſcore men, beſides which number, two hundred others were ſaid to be abſent, being gone up into the country, unto the mines, to fetch down gold, or rather to convey away what was already in the town. This golden treaſure cometh down another branch of this river unto Santa Maria, from the neighbouring mountains, where are thought to be the richeſt mines of the Indies, or, at leaſt, of all theſe parts of the weſtern world. Of the Spaniards were killed in the aſſault twenty-ſix, and wounded to the number of ſixteen more; but their governor, their prieſt, and all, or moſt of their chief men, made their eſcape by flight.

Having taken the fort, we expected to find here a conſiderable town belonging to it; but it proved to be only ſome wild houſes made of cane, the place being chiefly a garriſon deſigned to keep the Indians in ſubjection, who bear a mortal hatred, and are often apt to rebel againſt the Spaniards. But as bad a place as it was, our fortune was much worſe, for we came only three days too late, or elſe we had met with three hundred weight of gold, which was carried

carried thence to Panama in a bark, that is ſent from thence twice or thrice every year, to fetch what gold is brought to Santa Maria from the mountains. This river, called by the name of the town, is hereabouts twice as broad as the river of Thames is at London, and floweth above threeſcore miles upwards, riſing to the height of two fathom and a half at the town itſelf. As ſoon as we had taken the place, the Indians who belonged to our company, and had ſerved us for guides, came up to the town; for while they heard the noiſe of the guns they were in a great conſternation, and dared not approach the paliſadoes, but had hid themſelves ſo well in a ſmall hollow ground, that the bullets, while we were fighting, flew over their heads.

Here we found and redeemed the eldeſt daughter of the king of Darien, of whom we made mention above; ſhe had, as it ſhould ſeem, been forced away from her father's houſe by one of the garriſon (which rape had greatly incenſed him againſt the Spaniard) and was with child by him. After the fight, the Indians deſtroyed as many more of the Spaniards, as we had done in the aſſault, by taking them into the adjoining woods, and there ſtabbing them to death with their lances: but as ſoon as we underſtood this their barbarous cruelty, we hindered them from taking any more out of the fort, where we confined them all priſoners. Captain Sawkins, with a ſmall party of ten more, put himſelf into a canoe, and went down the river to purſue and ſtop, if it were poſſible, thoſe that had eſcaped, who were the chief of the town and garriſon. But now our great expectations of making a huge purchaſe of gold at this place being totally vaniſhed, we were unwilling to come ſo far for nothing, or go back empty handed; eſpecially conſidering what vaſt riches were to be had at no great diſtance from thence. Hereupon we reſolved to go for Panama,

which place if we could take, we were aſſured we ſhould get treaſure enough to ſatisfy our hungry appetite of gold and riches, that city being the receptacle of all the plate, jewels, and gold that is digged out of the mines of all Potoſi and Peru. In order to it therefore, and to pleaſe the humours of ſome of our company, we made choice of captain Coxon to be our general commander in chief. Before our departure we ſent back what ſmall booty we had taken here by ſome priſoners, and theſe under the charge of twelve of our men, to convey it to the ſhips.

Thus we prepared to go forward on that dangerous enterprize of Panama. But the Indians who had conducted us, having gotten from us what knives, ſciſſars, axes, needles, and beads they could obtain, would not ſtay any longer, but all, or the greateſt part of them, returned to their home. Notwithſtanding which, the king himſelf, captain Andræas, captain Antonio, the king's ſon, called by the Spaniards Bonete d'Oro, or king Golden-cap, as alſo his kinſman, would not be perſuaded by their falling off to leave us, but reſolved to go to Panama, out of the deſire they had to ſee that place taken and ſacked. Nay, the king promiſed, if there ſhould be occaſion, to join us with a very great number of men. Beſides which promiſes, we had alſo another very conſiderable encouragement to undertake this journey; for the Spaniard who had forced away the king's daughter, as was mentioned above, fearing leſt we ſhould leave him to the mercy of the Indians, who would have had but little on him, having ſhewed themſelves ſo cruel unto the reſt of his companions, for the ſafety of his life, had promiſed to lead us not only into the town, but even to the very door of the governor of Panama's bedchamber, and that we ſhould take him by the hand, and ſeize both

him

him and the whole city, before we ſhould be diſcovered by the Spaniards, either before or after our arrival.

CHAP. IV.

The Bucaniers leave the town of Santa Maria, and proceed by ſea to take Panama. The extreme difficulties, with ſundry accidents and dangers of that voyage.

HAVING been in poſſeſſion of the town of Santa Maria only the ſpace of two days, we departed from thence on Saturday, April 17, 1680. We embarked all in thirty-five canoes and a periaugue which we had taken here lying at anchor before the town. Thus we ſailed, or rather rowed down the river, in queſt of the South-ſea, upon which Panama is ſeated towards the gulf of Belona, where we were to enter that ocean. Our priſoners, the Spaniards, begged very earneſtly they might be permitted to go with us, and not to be left abandoned to the mercy of the Indians, who would ſhew them no favour, and whoſe cruelty they ſo much feared. But we had much ado to find a ſufficient number of boats for ourſelves, the Indians that left us having taking with them, either by conſent or ſtealth, ſo many canoes. Yet notwithſtanding they ſoon after either found bark-logs, or old canoes, and by that means ſhifted ſo well for their lives, as to come along with us. Before our departure we burnt both the fort, the church, and the town, which was done at the requeſt of the king, he being extremely incenſed againſt it.

Among theſe canoes it was my misfortune to have one that was very heavy, and conſequently ſluggiſh.

By this means we were left behind the reſt a little way, our number being only four men, beſides myſelf, that were embarked therein. As the tide fell, it left ſeveral ſhoals of ſand naked; and hence, not knowing the true channel amongſt ſuch variety of ſtreams, we happened to ſteer within a ſhoal above two miles before we perceived our error. Hereupon we were forced to lie by till high-water; for to row in ſuch heavy boats as thoſe againſt tide is a thing totally impoſſible. As ſoon as the tide began to turn, we rowed away in proſecution of our voyage, and withal made what haſte we could; but all our endeavours were in vain, for we neither could find nor overtake our companions. Thus about ten of the clock at night, it being low water, we ſtuck up an oar in the river, and ſlept by turns in our canoe, ſeveral ſhowers of rain falling all night long, with which they were wet to the ſkin.

But the next morning, as ſoon as day appeared, we rowed away down the river as before in purſuit of our people. Having rowed about two leagues we were ſo fortunate as to overtake them; for they had lain that night at an Indian hut, or embarcadero, that is to ſay, landing-place, and had been filling of water till then in the morning. Being arrived at the place, they told us, that we muſt not omit to fill our jars there with water; otherwiſe we ſhould meet with none in the ſpace of ſix days time. Hereupon we went every one of us the diſtance of a quarter of a mile from the embarcadero unto a little pond, to fill out water in calabazas, making withal what haſte we could back to our canoe. But when we returned, we found not one of our men, they all being departed and already got out of ſight. Such is the proceeding of theſe wild men, that they care not in the leaſt whom they loſe of their company, or leave behind. We were now more troubled in our minds than before, fearing

fearing leſt we ſhould fall into the ſame misfortune we had ſo lately overcome.

Hereupon we rowed after them as faſt as we poſſibly could, but all in vain; for here we found ſuch huge numbers of iſlands, greater and leſſer, as alſo keys about the mouth of the river, that it was not difficult for us, who were unacquainted with the river, to loſe ourſelves a ſecond time amongſt them. Yet notwithſtanding, though with much trouble and toil, we found at laſt that mouth of the river that is called by the Spaniards Bocca Chica, or the little mouth. But as it happened, it was now young flood and the ſtream ran very violently againſt us; ſo that though we were not above a ſtone's caſt from the ſaid mouth, and this was not a league broad, yet we could not by any means come near it. Hence we were forced to put aſhore, which we did accordingly till the time of high-water. We haled our canoe cloſe by the buſhes, and when we got out, we faſtened our rope to a tree, which the tide had almoſt covered; for it flows here near four fathom deep.

As ſoon as tide began to turn, we rowed away from thence to an iſland, diſtant about a league and a half from the mouth of the river, in the gulf of St. Miguel. Here it went very hard with us, whenſoever any wave daſhed againſt the ſides of our canoe; for it was almoſt twenty feet long, and yet not quite one foot and a half in breadth where it was at the broadeſt; ſo that we had juſt room enough to ſit down in her, and a little water would eaſily have both filled and overwhelmed us. At the iſland aforeſaid, we took up our reſting-place for that night, though for the loſs of our company, and the great dangers we were in, the ſorrowfulleſt night that until then I ever experienced in my life: for it rained impetuouſly all night long, inſomuch that we were wet from head

to foot, and had not one dry thread about us; neither through the violence of the rain, were able to keep any fire, wherewith to warm or dry us. The tide ebbeth here a good half mile from the mark of high-water, and leaveth bare wonderful high and ſharp-pointed rocks. We paſſed this heavy and tedious night without one minute of ſleep, being all very ſorrowful to ſee ourſelves ſo remote from the reſt of our companions, as alſo totally deſtitute of all human comfort: for a vaſt ſea ſurrounded us on one ſide, and the mighty power of our enemies the Spaniards on the other; neither could we deſcry at any hand the leaſt thing to relieve us, all that we could ſee being the wide ſea, high mountains, and rocks; meanwhile ourſelves were confined to an egg-ſhell inſtead of a boat, without ſo much as a few clothes to defend us from the injuries of the weather; for at that time none of us had a ſhoe to our feet. We ſearched the whole key, to ſee if we could find any water, but found none.

CHAP. V.

Shipwreck of Mr. Ringroſe the author of this narrative. He is taken by the Spaniards, and miraculouſly by them preſerved. Several other accidents and other diſaſters which befel him after the loſs of his companions, till he found them again. Deſcription of the gulf of Vallona.

ON Monday, April the 19th, at break of day, we haled our canoe into the water again and departing from the iſland aforementioned, wet and cold as we were, we rowed towards the punta de San Lorenzo, or point St. Lawrence. In our way we met with ſeveral iſlands, which lie ſtraggling thereabouts. But

But now we were ſo hard put to it by the ſmallneſs of our veſſel, and being in an open ſea, that it was become the work of one man, yea ſometimes of two, to caſt out the water which came in on all ſides of our canoe. After ſtruggling for ſome while with theſe difficulties, as we came near one of thoſe iſlands, a ſea came and overturned our boat, by which means we were all forced to ſwim for our lives; but we ſoon got to ſhore, and our canoe came tumbling after us. Our arms were faſt laſhed to the inſide of the boat, and our locks as well caſed and waxed down as was poſſible; ſo were alſo our cartouch-boxes, and powder-horns; but all our bread and freſh water was utterly ſpoiled and loſt.

Our canoe being tumbled on ſhore by the force of the waves, our firſt buſineſs was to take out and clean our arms. This we had ſcarcely done, but we ſaw another canoe run the ſame misfortune at a little diſtance to leeward of us amongſt a great number of rocks that bounded the iſland. The perſons that were caſt away proved to be ſix Spaniards of the garriſon of Santa Maria, who had found an old canoe, and had followed us to eſcape the cruelty of the Indians. They preſently came to us, and made us a fire, on which we broiled our meat, and eat it amicably together. But we were in great want of water, or any other drink to our victuals, not knowing in the leaſt where to get any. Our canoe was thrown up by the waves to the edge of the water, and there was no great fear of its ſplitting, as being full ſix inches on the ſides thereof. But that in which the Spaniards came, ſplit itſelf againſt the rocks, as being old and ſlender, into a hundred pieces. Though we were thus ſhipwrecked and driven aſhore, as I have related, yet at other times this gulf of San Miguel is a mere mill-pond for ſmoothneſs of water.

My company was altogether for returning, and to proceed no farther, but rather for living amongſt the Indians, in caſe they could not reach the ſhips we had left behind us in the Northern-ſea. But with much ado I prevailed with them to go forward, at leaſt one day longer, and in caſe we found not our people the next day, that then I would be willing to do any thing which they ſhould think fit. Thus we ſpent two or three hours of the day in conſulting about our affairs, and withal keeping a man to watch and look out on all ſides for fear of any ſurprizal by the Indians, or other enemies. About the time that we were come to a concluſion in our debates, our watchman by chance ſpied an Indian, who, as ſoon as he ſaw us, ran into the woods. I ſent immediately two of my company after him, who overtook him, and found him to be one of our friendly Indians. He carried them to a place not far diſtant from thence, where ſeven more of his company were, with a great canoe which they had brought with them. They came to the place where I was with the reſt of my company, and ſeemed to be glad to meet us on that iſland. I aſked them by ſigns for the main body of our company, and they gave me to underſtand, that in caſe we would go with them in their canoe, which was much bigger than ours, we ſhould be up with the party by next morning. This news, as may eaſily be ſuppoſed, not a little rejoiced our hearts.

Preſently after this friendly invitation, they aſked who the other ſix men were whom they ſaw in our company, for they eaſily perceived us not to be all of one and the ſame coat and lingua. We told them they were wankers, which is the name they commonly give to the Spaniards. Their next queſtion was, if they ſhould kill them. But I anſwered them no, by no means, I would not conſent to have it done. With which anſwer they ſeemed to be ſatisfied for

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the preſent. But a little while after, my back being turned, my company thinking they ſhould oblige the Indians thereby, beckoned to them to kill the Spaniards. With this, the poor creatures perceiving the danger that threatened them, made a ſad ſhriek and outcry, and I came time enough to ſave all their lives; but withal, I was forced to give my conſent they ſhould have one of them to make him their ſlave. Hereupon I gave the canoe that I came in to the five Spaniards remaining, and bid them get away and ſhift for their lives, leſt thoſe cruel Indians ſhould not keep their word, and they run again the ſame danger they had ſo lately eſcaped. Having ſent them away, I reſted myſelf awhile, and took a ſurvey of this gulf, and the mouth of the river.

But now, thanks be to God, joining company with thoſe Indians we were got into a very large canoe, the which, for its bigneſs, was better able to carry twenty men, than our own that we had brought to carry five. The Indians had alſo fitted a good ſail to the ſaid canoe; ſo that having now a freſh ſtrong gale of wind, we ſet ſail from thence, and made therewith brave way, to the infinite joy and comfort of our hearts, ſeeing ourſelves ſo well accommodated, and ſo happily rid of the miſeries we but lately had endured. We had now a ſmooth and eaſy paſſage, after ſuch tedious and laborious pains as we had ſuſtained in coming ſo far ſince we left Santa Maria. Under the point of St. Lawrence mentioned above, is a very great ripling of the ſea, occaſioned by a ſtrong current which runeth hereabouts, and which oftentimes almoſt filled our boat with its daſhes, as we ſailed. This evening, after our departure from the iſland where we were caſt away, it rained vehemently for ſeveral hours, and the night proved to be very dark. About nine of the clock that night we deſcried two fires on the ſhore of the continent over-againſt us. Theſe fires were no

ſooner

ſooner perceived by the Indians of our canoe, but they began to ſhout for joy, and cry out, captain Antonio, captain Andræas, the names of their Indian captains and leaders; and to affirm, they were aſſured thoſe fires were made by their companions. Hence they made for the ſhore towards thoſe fires as faſt as they could drive; but as ſoon as our canoe came amongſt the breakers, nigh the ſhore, out came from the woods above threeſcore Spaniards, with clubs and other arms; and laying hold on our canoe on both ſides thereof, haled it out of the water quite dry; ſo that by this means we were all ſuddenly taken and made their priſoners. I laid hold of my gun, thinking to make ſome defence for myſelf; but all was in vain, for they ſoon ſeized me between four or five of them, and hindered me from action. In the meanwhile our Indians leaped over-board, and got away very nimbly into the woods. My companion, ſtanding amazed at what had happened, and the manner of our ſurprizal, I aſked them preſently if any of them could ſpeak either French or Engliſh. But they anſwered, no. Hereupon, as well as I could, I diſcourſed to ſome of them, who were more intelligent than the reſt, in Latin, and by degrees came to underſtand their condition. Theſe were Spaniards who had been turned here aſhore by our Engliſh party, who left them upon this coaſt, leſt by carrying them nearer to Panama, any of them ſhould make their eſcape, and diſcover our march towards the city. They had me preſently after I was taken into a ſmall hut which they had built, covered with boughs, and made there great ſhouts for joy, becauſe they had taken us; deſigning in their minds to uſe us very ſeverely for coming into thoſe parts, and eſpecially for taking and plundering their town of Santa Maria. But mean while the captain of thoſe Spaniards was examining me, in came the poor Spaniard that was

come

come along with us, and reported how kind I had been to him and the reſt of his companions, by ſaving their lives from the cruelty of the Indians.

The captain having heard him, aroſe from his ſeat immediately and embraced me; ſaying, that we Engliſhmen were very friendly enemies, and good people, but that the Indians were very rogues, and a treacherous nation. Withal, he deſired me to ſit down by him, and to eat part of ſuch victuals as our companions had left them when they were turned aſhore. Then he told me, that for the kindneſs I had ſhewed unto his countrymen, he gave us all our lives and liberties, which otherwiſe he would certainly have taken from us. And though he could ſcarcely be perſuaded in his mind to ſpare the Indians lives, yet for my ſake he did pardon them all, and I ſhould have them with me, in caſe I could find them. Thus he bid me likewiſe take my canoe, and go in God's name; ſaying withal, he wiſhed us as fortunate as we were generous. Hereupon I took my leave of him. I ſearched out, and at laſt found my Indians, who for fear had hid themſelves in the buſhes adjoining to the neighbouring woods, where they lay concealed. Having found them, the captain led me very civilly down to the canoe, and bidding my companions and the Indians get in after me, as they at firſt haled us aſhore, ſo now again they puſhed us off to ſea by a ſudden and ſtrange viciſſitude of fortune.

All that night it rained very hard, as was mentioned above; neither durſt we put any more aſhore at any place, being all along ſuch as by mariners is commonly called an iron coaſt.

The next morning being come, we ſailed and paddled, or rowed, till about ten of the clock; at which time we eſpied a canoe making towards us with all ſpeed imaginable. Being come up with us, and

and in view, it proved to be one of our Engliſh company, who miſtaking our canoe for a Spaniſh periaugue, was coming in all haſte to attack us. We were infinitely glad to meet them, and they preſently conducted us to the reſt of our company, who were at that inſtant coming from a deep bay, which lay behind a high point of rocks, where they had lain at anchor all that night and morning. We were all mutually r[illegible] to ſee one another again, they having given both me and my companions for loſt.

CHAP. VI.

The Bucaniers proſecute their voyage till they come within ſight of Panama. They take ſeveral barks and priſoners by the way. Are deſcried by the Spaniards before their arrival. They order the Indians to kill the priſoners.

FROM the place where we rejoined our Engliſh forces, we all made our way towards a high hammock of land, as it appeared at a diſtance, but was nothing elſe than an iſland ſeven leagues diſtant from the bay aforementioned. On the higheſt part of this iſland the Spaniards keep a watch, or look-out (for ſo it is termed by the ſeamen) for fear of pirates, or other enemies. That evening we arrived at the iſland, and being landed, went up a very ſteep place, till we came to a little hut where the watchmen lodged. We took by ſurprizal the old man who watched in the place, but happened not to ſee us, till we were got into his plantane-walk before the lodge He told us in his examination, that we were not as yet deſcried by the Spaniards of Panama, or any others that he knew; which relation of the old man much encouraged us to go forwards with our deſign

of

of ſurprizing that rich city. This place, if I took its name right, is called Farol de Plantanos, or in Engliſh Plantane-watch.

Here, a little before night, a certain bark came to an anchor at the outſide of the iſland, which was inſtantly deſcried by us. Hereupon we ſpeedily manned out two canoes, who went under the ſhore and ſurprized the ſaid boat. Having examined the perſons that were on board, we found ſhe had been abſent the ſpace of eight days from Panama, and had landed ſoldiers at a point of land not far diſtant from this iſland, with intention to fight and curb certain Indians and negroes who had done much hurt in the country thereabouts. The bark being taken, moſt of our men endeavoured to get into her, but more eſpecially thoſe who had the leſſer canoes. Thus there embarked thereon to the number of one hundred and thirty-ſeven of our company, together with that ſea-artiſt and valiant commander, captain Bartholomew Sharp; with him went alſo on board captain Cook, whom we mentioned at the beginning of this hiſtory. The remaining part of that night we lay at the key of the ſaid iſland, with intent to proſecute our voyage the next day.

Morning being come, I changed my canoe and embarked myſelf in another, which, though it was ſomething leſſer than the former, yet was furniſhed with better company. Departing from this iſland, we rowed all day long over ſhoal water, at the diſtance of about a league from land, having ſometimes not above four or five feet water, and white ground: in the afternoon we deſcried a bark at ſea, and inſtantly gave her chace: but the canoe in which was captain Harris happened to come up the firſt with her, who after a ſharp diſpute took her. Being taken, we put on board the ſaid bark thirty men; but the wind would not ſuffer the other bark in chacing to come up

up with us. This purſuit of the veſſel did ſo far hinder us in our voyage, and divide us aſunder, that night coming on preſently after, we loſt one another, and could no longer keep in a body together: hereupon we laid our canoe aſhore, to take up our reſt for that night, at the diſtance of two miles, or thereabouts, from high water mark, and about ſix leagues to leeward of the iſland Chepillo, to which place our courſe was then directed.

The next morning, as ſoon as the water began to float us, we rowed away for the forementioned iſland Chepillo, where by aſſignation our general rendezvous was to be: in our way we eſpied a bark under ſail, as we had done the day before: captain Coxon's canoe was the firſt that came up with her; but a ſmall breeze freſhening at that inſtant, ſhe got away from him after the firſt onſet, killing in the ſaid canoe one Mr. Bull, and wounding two others. We preſently conjectured that this bark would get before us to Panama, and give intelligence of our coming to thoſe of the town, all which happened accordingly. It was two of the clock that afternoon before all our canoes could come together, and join one another, as was agreed on at Chepillo. We took at that iſland fourteen priſoners, between negroes and mulattos; alſo a great ſtore of plantanes, and good water, together with two fat hogs. But now, believing that ere this we had been deſcried at Panama by the bark aforementioned, we reſolved among ourſelves to waſte no time, but to haſten away from the ſaid iſland, to the intent we might at leaſt be able to ſurprize and take their ſhipping, and by that means make ourſelves maſters of thoſe ſeas, in caſe we could not get the town, which we now judged almoſt impoſſible to be done. At Chepillo we took alſo a periagua which we found at anchor before the iſland, and preſently we put ſome men on board her: we ſtaid

here

here only a few hours; ſo that about four o'clock in the evening we rowed away from thence, deſigning to reach Panama before the next morning; it being only ſeven leagues between that city and Chepillo: but before we departed from Chepillo, it was judged convenient by our commanders, for certain reaſons, which I could not give into, to rid their hands of the priſoners which we had taken; and hereupon orders were given to our Indians, who they knew would perform them very willingly, to fight or rather to murder and ſlay the ſaid priſoners upon the ſhore, and that in the view of the whole fleet. This they inſtantly went about, being glad of this opportunity to revenge themſelves upon their enemies, though in cold blood: but the priſoners, although they had no arms wherewith to defend themſelves, forced their way through thoſe barbarous Indians, in ſpite of their lances, bows, and arrows, and got into the woods of the iſland, only one man of them being killed. We rowed all night long, though much rain fell.

CHAP. VII.

They arrive within ſight of Panama, are encountered by three ſmall men of war: they fight them with only ſixty-eight men, and utterly defeat them, taking two of the ſaid veſſels. Deſcription of that bloody fight. They take ſeveral ſhips at the iſle of Perico before Panama.

THE next morning, which was April 23, 1680. that day being dedicated to St. George, our patron of England, we came before ſun-riſe within view of the city of Panama, which makes a very pleaſant proſpect to the ſea-ward: ſoon after we ſaw alſo the ſhips belonging to the ſaid city, which lay at anchor at

at an iſland called Perico, diſtant only two leagues from Panama. On the aforeſaid iſland are ſeveral ſtore-houſes built there to receive the goods delivered out of the ſhips: at that time there rid at anchor at Perico five great ſhips, and three pretty big barks, called barcos de la armadilla, or little men of war; the word armadilla ſignifying a little fleet. Theſe had been ſuddenly manned out with deſign to fight us, and prevent any farther attempts we ſhould make upon the city, or coaſts of thoſe ſeas. As ſoon as they eſpied us, they inſtantly weighed anchor, and got under ſail, coming directly to meet us. Our two periaugues being heavy, could not row ſo faſt as we that were in the canoes, ſo that we were got a pretty way before them: in our five canoes (for ſo many we were in company) we had only thirty-ſix men, and theſe but in a very unfit condition to fight, as being tired with ſo much rowing, and ſo few in number, in compariſon of the enemy that came againſt us. They ſailed towards us directly before the wind, inſomuch that we feared leſt they ſhould run us down before it: hereupon we rowed up into the wind's eye, as the ſeamen term it, and got cloſe to the windward of them. Meanwhile we were doing this, our leſſer periaugue came up with us, in which were thirty-two more of our company; ſo that we were in all ſixty-eight men that were engaged in the fight of that day; the king himſelf being one of our number, who was in the periaugue aforementioned. In the veſſel that was admiral of theſe three men of war, were fourſcoure and ſix Biſcaniers, who have the repute of being the beſt mariners, and alſo the beſt ſoldiers amongſt the Spaniards. Theſe were all voluntiers, who came deſignedly to ſhew their valour, under the command of don Jacinto de Barabona, who was high admiral of thoſe ſeas. In the ſecond were ſeventy-ſeven negroes, who were commanded by

by an old and ſtout Spaniard, a native of Andaluſia in Spain, named don Franciſco de Peralta. In the third and laſt were ſixty-five meſtizos, or mulattos or tawny-moors, commanded by don Diego de Carabaxal: ſo that they were in all two hundred and twen-eight. The commanders had ſtrict orders given them, and their reſolutions were to give quarters to none of the pirates or bucaniers: but ſuch bloody commands ſeldom proſper.

Captain Sawkins's canoe, and alſo that wherein I was, were much to leeward of the reſt; ſo that the ſhip of don Diego de Carabaxal came between us two, and fired preſently on me to windward, and on him to leeward, wounding with theſe broadſides four men in his canoe, and one in that I was in: but he paid ſo dear for his paſſage between us, that he was not quick in coming about again, and making the ſame way; for we killed with our firſt volley, ſeveral of his men upon the decks: thus we got alſo to windward, as the reſt were before. The admiral of the armadilla, or little fleet, came up with us inſtantly, ſcarce giving us time to charge, thinking to paſs by us all with as little damage as the firſt of his ſhips had done: but as it happened, it fell out much worſe with him, for we were ſo fortunate as to kill the man at the helm; ſo that his ſhip ran into the wind, and her ſails lay a-back. By this means we had time to come all up under her ſtern, and firing continually into his veſſel, we killed all that came to the helm; beſides which ſlaughter, we cut aſunder his main ſheet and brace with our ſhot. Now alſo the third veſſel, in which captain Peralta was, was coming to the aid of their general; hereupon captain Sawkins, who had changed his canoe, and was gone into the periauguc, left the admiral to us four canoes (for his own was quite diſabled) and met the ſaid Peralta: between him and captain Sawkins the diſpute was very hot,

lying

lying aboard each other, and both giving and receiving death as faſt as they could charge. While we were thus engaged, the firſt ſhip tacked about, and came up to relieve the admiral; but we perceiving it, and foreſeeing how hard it would go with us, if we ſhould be beaten from the admiral's ſtern, determined to prevent his deſign: hereupon two of our canoes, to wit, captain Springer's and my own, ſtood off to meet him: he made up directly towards the admiral, who ſtood upon the quarter-deck, waving unto him with a handkerchief ſo to do; but we engaged him ſo cloſely in the middle of his way, that had he not given us the helm, and made away from us, we had certainly been on board him: we killed ſo many of the men, that the veſſel had ſcarce men enough left alive, or unwounded, to carry her off; yet the wind now blowing freſh, they made ſhift to get away from us, and ſave their lives.

The veſſel which was to relieve the admiral being thus put to flight, we came about again upon the admiral, and all together gave a loud halloo, which was anſwered by our men in the periaugue, though at a diſtance from us. At that time we came ſo cloſe under the ſtern of the admiral, that we wedged up the rudder; and withal killed both the admiral himſelf and the chief pilot of his ſhip; ſo that now they were almoſt quite diſabled and diſheartened likewiſe, ſeeing what a bloody maſſacre we had made among them with our ſhot. Hereupon, two thirds of his men being killed, and many others wounded, they cried for quarter, which had ſeveral times been offered them, and as ſtoutly denied till then. Captain Coxon boarded the admiral, and took with him captain Harris, who had been ſhot through both his legs as he boldly adventured up along the ſide of the ſhip. This veſſel being thus taken, we put on

board her all our wounded men, and inſtantly manned two of our canoes to go and aid captain Sawkins, who now had been three times beaten from on board Peralta, ſuch valiant defence had he made: and indeed, to give our enemies their due, no men in the world did ever act more bravely than theſe Spaniards.

Thus coming up cloſe under Peralta's ſide, we gave him a full volley of ſhot, and expected to have the like return from him again; but on a ſudden we ſaw his men blown up that were abaft the maſt, ſome of them falling on the deck and others into the ſea. This diſaſter was ſoon perceived by their valiant captain Peralta; but he leaped overboard, and, in ſpite of all our ſhot, got ſeveral of them into the ſhip again, though he was much burnt in both his hands himſelf. But as one misfortune ſeldom cometh alone, meanwhile he was recovering theſe men, to reinforce his ſhip withall, and renew the fight, another jar of powder took fire forward, and blew up ſeveral others upon the forecaſtle. Among this ſmoak, and under the opportunity thereof, captain Sawkins laid them on board, and took the ſhip. Soon after they were taken, I went on board captain Peralta, to ſee what condition they were in; and indeed ſuch a miſerable ſight I never ſaw in my life; for there was not a man, but was either killed, deſperately wounded, or horribly burnt with powder; inſomuch, that their black ſkins were turned white in ſeveral places, the powder having torn it from their fleſh and bones. Having compaſſionated their miſery, I went afterwards on board the admiral, to obſerve likewiſe the condition of his ſhip and men: here I ſaw what did aſtoniſh me, and will ſcarcely be believed by any, but ourſelves who ſaw it: there we found on board this ſhip but twenty-five men alive, whoſe number before the fight had been fourſcore and

and ſix, as was ſaid above; ſo that threeſcore and one, out of ſo ſmall a number, were deſtroyed in the battle: but, what is more, of theſe twenty-five men, only eight of them were able to bear arms, all the reſt being deſperately wounded, and by their wounds totally diſabled to make any reſiſtance, or defend themſelves. Their blood ran down the decks in whole ſtreams, and ſcarce one place in the ſhip was found that was free from blood.

Having poſſeſſed ourſelves of theſe two armadilla veſſels, or little men of war, captain Sawkins aſked the priſoners, how many men there might be on board the greateſt ſhip that we could ſee from thence, lying in the harbour of the iſland of Perico above-mentioned, as alſo in the others that were ſomething ſmaller. Captain Peralta hearing theſe queſtions, diſſuaded him as much as he could from attempting them; ſaying, that in the biggeſt alone, there were three hundred and fifty men, and that he would find the reſt too well provided for defence againſt his ſmall number. But one of his men, who lay dying upon deck, contradicted him as he was ſpeaking, and told captain Sawkins, there was not one man on board any of thoſe ſhips that were in view; for they had all been taken out of them to fight us, in theſe three veſſels called the armadilla, or little fleet. Unto this relation we gave credit, as proceeding from a dying man; and ſteering our courſe to the iſland, we went on board them, and found, as he had ſaid, not one perſon there. The biggeſt of theſe ſhips, which was called La Santiſſima Trinidad, or the Bleſſed Trinity, they had ſet on fire, made a hole in her, and looſened her fore-ſail. But we quenched the fire with all ſpeed, and ſtopped the leak. This being done, we put our wounded men on board her, and made her for the preſent our hoſpital.

Having

Having ſurveyed our own loſs, we found eighteen of our men were killed in the fight, and twenty-two wounded. Theſe three captains againſt whom we fought were eſteemed by the Spaniards the valianteſt in all the South-ſeas: neither was their reputation undeſerved, as may eaſily be inferred from the relation we have given of this bloody engagement. As the third ſhip was running away from the fight, ſhe met with two more coming out to their aſſiſtance; but withal, gave them ſo little encouragement, that they returned back, and dared not engage us. We began the fight about half an hour after ſun-riſe, and by noon had finiſhed the battle, and quite overcome them. Captain Peralta, while he was our priſoner, would often break out into admirations of our valour, and ſay, 'Surely, we Engliſhmen were the valianteſt 'men in the whole world, who deſigned always to 'fight open, whilſt all other nations invented all 'the ways imaginable to barricade themſelves, and 'fight as cloſe as they could.' And yet notwithſtanding, we killed more of our enemies than they of us.

Two days after our engagement, we buried captain Peter Harris, a brave and ſtout ſoldier, and a valiant Engliſhman, born in the county of Kent, whoſe death we very much lamented: he died of the wounds he received in battle; and beſides him only one man; all the reſt of our wounded men recovered. Being now come before Panama, I enquired of Don Franciſco de Peralta, our priſoner, many things concerning the ſtate and condition of this city, and the neighbouring country; and he ſatisfied me in manner following.

CHAP. VIII.

Deſcription of the ſtate and condition of Panama, and the parts adjacent. What veſſels they took while they blocked up the ſaid port. Captain Coxon with ſeventy more returns home. Sawkins is choſen in chief.

THE famous city of Panama is ſituate in the latitude of nine degrees north. It ſtands in a deep bay, in the South-ſea. It is round in form, excepting only that part where it runs along the ſea-ſide. Formerly it ſtood four miles more eaſterly, when it was taken by ſir Henry Morgan; but being then burnt, and three times more ſince that accident, they removed it to the place where it now ſtands. Notwithſtanding there are ſome poor people ſtill inhabiting the old town; and the cathedral church is ſtill there, which makes a fair ſhew at a diſtance, not unlike that of St. Paul's at London. This new city of which I now ſpeak, is much bigger than the old one was, and is built for the moſt part of brick, the reſt being built of ſtone and tiled. As for the churches belonging thereto, they are not as yet finiſhed; they are eight in number, the chief whereof is called Santa Maria. This city is better than a mile and a half in length, and above a mile in breadth: the houſes for the moſt part are three ſtories high. It hath two gates belonging to it, and is well walled round, except only where a creek cometh into the city, which at high-water letteth in barks, to furniſh the inhabitants with all ſorts of proviſions and other neceſſaries. Here are always three hundred of the king's ſoldiers in garriſon; beſides which number, their militia of all colours are 1100. But when we arrived there, moſt of their ſoldiers were out of town;

inſomuch that our coming put the reſt into great conſternation, they having had but one night's notice of our being in thoſe ſeas. Hence we were induced to believe, that had we gone aſhore inſtead of fighting their ſhips, we had certainly rendered ourſelves maſters of the place; eſpecially conſidering that all their chief men were on board the admiral; I mean ſuch as were undoubtedly the beſt ſoldiers. Round about the city, for the ſpace of ſeven leagues, or thereabouts, all the adjacent country is Savanna, as they call it in the Spaniſh language, that is to ſay plain and level ground, as ſmooth as a ſheet; only here and there is to be ſeen a ſmall ſpot of woody land. This level ground is full of Vacadas, or Beef Stations, where whole droves of cows and oxen are kept, which ſerve as ſo many look-outs, or watch-towers, to deſcry if an enemy is approaching by land. The ground whereon the city now ſtands, is very damp and moiſt, which renders the place unhealthful. The water is alſo full of worms, which are very prejudicial to ſhipping; and this is the cauſe that the king's ſhips lie always at Lima, the capital of Peru, unleſs when they come down to Panama to bring the king's plate; which is only at ſuch times as the fleet of galleons come from Old Spain to fetch and convoy it thither. Here, in one hour after our arrival, we found worms of three quarters of an inch in length, both in our bed-clothes and other apparel.

At the iſlands of Perico above-mentioned, we ſeized in all five ſhips: of theſe, the firſt and biggeſt was named, as was ſaid before, the Trinidad, and was a great ſhip, of the burden of 400 tons: her lading conſiſting of wine, ſugar, ſweetmeats (whereof the Spaniards in thoſe hot countries make infinite uſe) ſkins, and ſoap. The ſecond ſhip was about 300 tons burden, and not above half laden with bars of iron, which is one of the richeſt commodi-

ties that are brought into the South-Sea. This veſſel we burned with the lading in her, becauſe the Spaniards pretended not to want that commodity, and therefore would not redeem it. The third was laden with ſugar, being of the burden of 180 tons, or thereabouts. This veſſel was given to captain Cook. The fourth was an old ſhip of 60 tons, laden with flour or meal. This ſhip we likewiſe burnt with her lading, eſteeming both bottom and cargo at that time to be uſeleſs to us. The fifth was a ſhip of 50 tons, which, with a periaugue, captain Coxon took along with him when he left us.

Within two or three days after our arrival at Panama, captain Coxon being much diſſatisfied with ſome reflections caſt upon him by our company, determined to leave us, and return back to our ſhips in the northern ſeas, by the ſame way he came; and perſuaded ſeveral of our company, who ſided moſt with him, and had had the chief hand in his election, to fall off from us, and bear him company in his journey, or march over land. The main cauſe of thoſe reflections was his backwardneſs in the laſt engagement with the Armadilla; concerning which point ſome ſtuck not to brand him for a coward. He drew off with him to the number of 70 of our men, who all returned back with him in the ſhip and periaugue above-mentioned, towards the mouth of the river of Santa Maria. In his company went alſo back the Indian king, captain Antonio, and don Andræas, who, being old, deſired to be excuſed from ſtaying any longer with us. However, the king deſired we would not be leſs vigorous in annoying their enemy and ours, the Spaniards, than if he were perſonally preſent with us. And to the intent we might ſee how faithfully he did intend to deal with us, he at the ſame time recommended both his ſon and nephew to the care of captain Sawkins,

kins, who was now our newly choſen general, or commander in chief, in the abſence of captain Sharp. The two Armadilla ſhips, which we took in the engagement, we burnt alſo, ſaving nothing of either of them, but their rigging and ſails. With them alſo we burnt a bark that came into the port laden with fowls and poultry.

On Sunday, April the 25th, captain Sharp with his bark and company came in and joined us again. His abſence was occaſioned by want of water, which forced him to bear up to the king's iſlands. Being there, he found a new bark, which he preſently took, and burnt his old one. This veſſel ſailed excellently well. Within a day or two after the arrival of captain Sharp, came in likewiſe the people of captain Harris. Theſe had alſo taken another bark, and cut down the maſts of their old one by the board; and thus without maſts or ſails turned away the priſoners they had taken in her. The next day we took another bark, that came from Nata, being laden with fowls as before. In this bark we turned away all the meaneſt priſoners we had on board us.

Having continued before Panama for the ſpace of ten days, being employed in the affairs before-mentioned, on May the 2d, we weighed from the iſland of Perico, and ſtood off to another iſland, diſtant two leagues farther from thence, called Tavoga. On this iſland ſtands a town which bears the ſame name, and conſiſts of a hundred houſes, or thereabouts. The people of the town were all fled, ſeeing our veſſels arrive. While we were here, ſome of our men being drunk aſhore, happened to ſet fire to one of the houſes, the which conſumed twelve houſes more before any could get aſhore to quench it. To this iſland came ſeveral Spaniſh merchants from Panama, and ſold us what commodities we

needed, buying alſo of us much of the goods we had taken in their own veſſels: they gave us likewiſe 200 pieces of eight for each negro we could ſpare them, of ſuch as were our priſoners. From this iſland we could eaſily ſee all the veſſels that went out, or came into the port of Panama; and here we took likewiſe ſeveral barks that were laden with fowls.

Eight days after our arrival at Tavoga, we took a ſhip that was coming from Truxillo, and bound for Panama. In this veſſel we found 2000 jars of wine, 50 jars of gunpowder, and 51,000 pieces of eight. This money had been ſent from that city to pay the ſoldiers belonging to the garriſon of Panama. From the ſaid prize we had information given that there was another ſhip coming from Lima with 100,000 pieces of eight more; which ſhip was to ſail ten or twelve days after them, and which they ſaid could not be long before ſhe arrived at Panama. Within two days after this intelligence we took alſo another ſhip laden with flour from Truxillo, belonging to certain Indians, inhabitants of the ſame place, or thereabouts. This prize confirmed what the firſt had told us of that rich ſhip, and ſaid, as the others had done before, that ſhe would be there in the ſpace of eight or ten days.

While we lay at Tavoga, the preſident, or governor of Panama, ſent a meſſage by ſome merchants to us, to know what we came for into thoſe parts? To this meſſage captain Sawkins made anſwer, "That we came to aſſiſt the king of Darien, who "was the true lord of Panama, and all the country "thereabouts: and that ſince we were come ſo far, "it was no reaſon but that we ſhould have ſome "ſatisfaction. So that if he pleaſed to ſend us "500 pieces of eight for each man, and one thou-"ſand for each commander, and not any farther "to annoy the Indians, but ſuffer them to uſe their "own

" own power and liberty, as became the true and " natural lords of the country, that then we would " deſiſt from farther hoſtilities, and go away peace- " ably; otherwiſe that we ſhould ſtay there, and " get what we could, cauſing them what damage " was poſſible." By the merchants alſo that went and came to Panama, we underſtood there lived then as biſhop of Panama, one who had formerly been biſhop of Santa Martha, and who was priſoner to captain Sawkins, when he took the ſaid place about four or five years paſt. The captain having received this intelligence, ſent two loaves of ſugar to the biſhop as a preſent. The next day the merchant who carried them, returning to Tavoga, brought the captain a gold ring for a retaliation of his ſaid preſent. And withal, he brought a meſſage to captain Sawkins from the preſident abovementioned, to know farther of him, ſince we were Engliſhmen, " From whom we had our commiſſion, " and to whom he ought to complain for the da- " mages we had already done them?" To this meſſage captain Sawkins ſent back for an anſwer, " That as yet all his company were not come to- " gether; but that when they were come up, we " would come and viſit him at Panama, and bring " our commiſſions on the muzzles of our guns, at " which time he ſhould read them as plain as the " flame of gunpowder could make them."

At this iſland of Tavoga, captain Sawkins would fain have ſtaid longer to wait for the rich ſhip abovementioned that was coming from Peru; but our men were ſo importunate for freſh victuals, that no reaſon could rule them, nor their own intereſt perſuade them to any thing that might conduce to this purpoſe. Hereupon, May the 15th, we weighed anchor, and ſailed from thence to the iſland of

Otoque. Being arrived there, we lay by it, while our boat went aſhore, and fetched off fowls, hogs, and other things neceſſary for ſuſtenance. Here I finiſhed a draught, comprehending from point Garachine, to the bay of Panama, &c.

From Otoque we ſailed to the iſland of Cayboa, which is a place very famous for the fiſhery of pearl thereabouts, and is at the diſtance of eight leagues from another place called Puebla Nueba, on the Main. In our way to this iſland we loſt two of our barks, one whereof had fifteen men in her, and the other ſeven. Being arrived, we caſt anchor at the ſaid iſland.

CHAP. IX.

Captain Sawkins, chief commander of the Bucaniers, is killed before Puebla Nucba. They are repulſed from the place. Captain Sharp choſen to be their leader. Many more of their company leave them, and return home over land.

WHILE we lay at anchor before Cayboa, our two chief commanders captain Sawkins and captain Sharp, taking with them 60 men or thereabouts, went in captain Cook's ſhip to the mouth of the river, where Puebla Nueba is ſituated. The day of this action, as I find it quoted in my journal, was May 22d, 1680. When they came to the river's mouth, they put themſelves into canoes, and were pilotted up the river towards the town by a negro, who was one of our priſoners. I was choſen to be concerned in this action, but happened not to land, being commanded to remain in captain Cook's ſhip,

ſhip, while they went up to aſſault the town. But here the inhabitants were too well provided for the reception of our party: for at the diſtance of a mile below the town, they had cut down great trees, and laid them croſs the river, with deſign to hinder the coming up of any boats. In like manner, on ſhore before the town itſelf, they had raiſed three ſtrong breaſt-works, and made other things for their defence. Here therefore captain Sawkins running up to the breaſt-works at the head of a few men, was killed: a man who was as valiant and courageous as any could be, and likewiſe, next to captain Sharp, the beſt beloved of all our company, or the moſt part thereof. Neither was this love undeſerved by him; for we ought juſtly to attribute to him the greateſt honour we gained in our engagement before Panama with the Spaniſh Armadilla. Eſpecially, conſidering that, as hath been ſaid above, captain Sharp was by accident abſent at the time of that great and bloody fight.

We that remained behind on board the ſhip of captain Cook, carried her within the mouth of the river Puebla Nueba, and entered cloſe by the Eaſt ſhore, which is crowned with a round hill. Within two ſtone's caſt of ſhore, we had four fathom water. Within the point opens a very fine and large river, which falls from a ſandy bay, at a ſmall diſtance from thence. But as we were getting in, being ſtrangers to the place, we unwittingly ran our ſhip on ground near a rock which lies on the weſtward ſhore; for the true channel of the ſaid river is nearer to the Eaſt than the Weſt ſhore. With captain Sawkins, in the unfortunate aſſault of this place, there died two men more, and three were wounded in the retreat, which they performed to the canoes in pretty good order. In their way down the river, captain Sharp took a ſhip, whoſe lading conſiſted of

indigo, otto, manteco, or butter and pitch; and likewiſe burnt two veſſels more, as being of no value. With this he returned on board our ſhips, being much troubled in his mind, and grieved for the loſs of ſo bold and brave a partner in his adventures, as Sawkins had conſtantly ſhewed himſelf to be. His death was much lamented, and occaſioned another party of our own men to mutiny, and leave us, returning over land, as captain Coxon and his company had done before.

Three days after the death of captain Sawkins, captain Sharp, who was now commander in chief, gave the ſhip which he had taken in the river of Puebla Nueba, and which was of the burden of 100 tons, or thereabouts, to captain Cook to command and ſail in; ordering withal, that the old veſſel which he had, ſhould go with thoſe men that deſigned to leave us; their mutiny, and our diſtraction being now grown very high. Hereupon captain Sharp coming on board la Trinidad, the greateſt of our ſhips, aſked our men in full council, who of them were willing to go, or ſtay and proſecute the deſign captain Sawkins had undertaken, which was to remain in the South-ſea, and there to make a complete voyage; after which he intended to go home round about America, through the Streights of Magellan. He added withal, that he did not as yet fear or doubt in the leaſt, but to make each man who ſhould ſtay with him, worth 1000 pounds, by the fruits he hoped to reap of that voyage. All thoſe who had remained after the departure of captain Coxon, for love of captain Sawkins, and only to be in his company, and under his conduct, thinking thereby to make their fortunes, would ſtay no longer, but preſſed to depart. Among this number I acknowledge myſelf to have been one, as being totally deſirous in my mind to quit thoſe hazardous adventures,

adventures, and return homewards in company of thoſe who were now going to leave us; yet being much afraid and averſe to truſt myſelf among wild Indians any farther, I choſe rather to ſtay, though unwillingly, and venture on that long and dangerous voyage. Beſides the danger of which Indians, I conſidered that the rains were now already up, and it would be hard paſſing ſo many gullies, which of neceſſity would then be full of water, and conſequently create more than one ſingle peril to the undertakers of that journey; yet notwithſtanding, 63 men of our company were reſolved to encounter all theſe hardſhips, and to leave us. Hereupon they took their leave of us, and returned homewards, taking with them the Indian king's ſon, and the reſt of the Indians for their guides over land. They had, as was ſaid above, the ſhip wherein captain Cook ſailed, to carry them: and out of our proviſion as much as would ſerve for treble their number.

On the laſt day of May they left us employed in taking in water and cutting down wood, at the iſland of Cayboa before-mentioned, where this mutiny happened. Here we caught very good tortoiſe, and red deer: we killed alſo alligators of a very large ſize, ſome of them being above twenty feet in length. But we could not find but that they were very fearful of a man, and would fly from us very haſtily when we hunted them. This iſland lieth South-ſouth-eaſt from the mouth of the river above-mentioned. On the South-eaſt ſide of the iſland is a ſhoal or ſpit of ſand, which ſtretched itſelf the ſpace of quarter of a league into the ſea. Here therefore juſt within this ſhoal, we anchored in the depth of fourteen fathom water. The iſland on this ſide thereof maketh two great bays, in the firſt of which we watered, at a certain pond not diſtant above the caſt of a ſtone up from the bay. In this pond as I

was waſhing myſelf, and ſtanding under a Manzanilla tree, a ſmall ſhower of rain happened to fall on the tree, and from thence dropped on my ſkin: theſe drops cauſed me to break out all over my body into red ſpots, of which I was not well for the ſpace of a week after. Here I eat very large oyſters, the biggeſt that ever I eat in my life; inſomuch, that I was forced to cut them into four pieces, each quarter of them being a good mouthful.

Three days after the departure of the mutineers, captain Sharp ordered us to burn the ſhip that I had hitherto ſailed in, only out of deſign to make uſe of the iron-work belonging to the ſaid veſſel. Withal we put all the flour that was her lading into the laſt prize taken in the river of Puebla Nueba; and captain Cook, as was ſaid before, was ordered to command her; but the men belonging to his company would not ſail any longer under his command. Hereupon he quitted his veſſel, and came on board our admiral, the great ſhip above-mentioned, called La Trinidad, determining to rule over ſuch unruly company no longer. In his place was put John Cox, an inhabitant of New England, who forced kindred, as was thought, on captain Sharp, out of old acquaintance, in this conjuncture of time, only to advance himſelf: thus he was made, as it were, vice-admiral to captain Sharp. The next day three of our priſoners, viz. an Indian, who was captain of a ſhip, and two mulattos, ran away from us, and made their eſcape.

After this it was thought convenient to ſend captain Peralta priſoner in the admiral, on board Mr. Cox's ſhip: this was done to the intent he might not hinder the endeavours of captain Juan, who was commander of the money-ſhip we took, mentioned at the iſland of Tavoga; for this man had promiſed to do great things for us, by piloting and conduct-

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ing us to ſeveral places of great riches; but more eſpecially to Guayaquil, where, he ſaid, we might lay down our ſilver, and lade our veſſel with gold. This deſign was undertaken by captain Sawkins, and had not the headſtrongneſs of his men brought him to the iſland of Cayboa, where he loſt his life, he had certainly effected it before now. That night we had ſuch thunder and lightnings, as I never heard before in all my life: our priſoners told us, that in theſe parts it very often cauſed great damages, both by ſea and land; and my opinion gave me to believe, that our main-maſt received ſome damage on this occaſion. The rainy ſeaſon being now entered, the wind for the moſt part was at N. W. though not without ſome calms.

CHAP. X.

They depart from the iſland of Cayboa to the iſle of Gorgona, where they careen their veſſels. Deſcription of this iſle. They reſolve to go and plunder Arica, leaving their deſign of Guayaquil.

HAVING got in all things neceſſary for ſailing, we were now in a readineſs to depart, on Sunday June 6th, 1680. That day we had ſome rain fell, which now was very frequent in all thoſe places. About five o'clock in the evening we ſet ſail for the iſland of Cayboa, with a ſmall breeze, the wind being at S. S. W. Our courſe was E. S. by E. and S. E. After ſailing two days, with little or no wind, on the third, about ſun-riſing, we deſcried Quicara, which at that time bore N. W. by W. from us, at the diſtance of five leagues, or thereabouts.

Theſe are two ſeveral iſlands, whereof the leaſt is to the ſouthward of the other. The land is a low

low table land; they are above three leagues in length.

Thurſday, June 10th, we ſaw many tortoiſes floating upon the ſea; hereupon we hoiſted out our boat, and came to one of them, who offered not to ſtir until ſhe was ſtruck, and even then not to ſink to the bottom, but rather to ſwim away: the ſea hereabouts is very full of ſeveral ſorts of fiſh, as dolphins, bonites, albicores, mullets, and old wives, &c. which came ſwimming about our ſhip in whole ſhoals. The next day, which was Friday, our Spaniſh priſoners informed us, we muſt not expect any ſettled wind until we came within the latitude of three degrees: for all along the weſtern ſhore of theſe ſeas, there is little wind; which is the cauſe that thoſe ſhips that go from Acapulco to the iſlands called de las Philippinas, do coaſt along the ſhore of California, until they get into the height of forty-five degrees; yea, ſometimes of fifty degrees latitude. As the wind varied, ſo we tacked ſeveral times, thereby to make the beſt of our way that was poſſible to the ſouthward.

As our priſoners had informed us, ſo we found it by experience: for ſailing two days with ſmall wind, and much rain, June 17th, about five in the morning we deſcried land, which appeared all along to be very low, and likewiſe full of creeks and bays; our pilot not knowing what land it was, we called Mr. Cox on board us, who brought captain Peralta with him; this gentleman being aſked, preſently told us, the land we ſaw was the land of Barbacoa, being almoſt a wild country all over: withal, he informed us, that to the leeward of us, at the diſtance of ten leagues, or thereabouts, did lie an iſland called by the name of Gorgona; the which iſland, he ſaid, the Spaniards did ſhun, and very ſeldom came near it, by reaſon of the inceſſant and continual

tinual rains there falling, ſcarce one day in the year being dry at that place. Captain Sharp having heard this information of captain Peralta, judged the ſaid iſland might be the fitteſt place for our company to careen at; conſidering that if the Spaniards did not frequent it, we might in all probability lie there undeſcried, and our enemies the Spaniards, in the mean time, might think we were gone out of thoſe ſeas. At this time it was, that I ſeriouſly repented my ſtaying in the South-Seas, and that I did not return homewards in company of them that went before us: for I knew and could eaſily perceive that by theſe delays the Spaniards would gain time, and be able to ſend advice of our coming to every port all along the coaſt, ſo that we ſhould be prevented in all, or moſt of our attempts and deſigns whereſoever we came. But thoſe of our company, who had got money by the former prizes of this voyage, overſwayed the others who had loſt all their booty at gaming. Thus we bore away for the iſland aforeſaid of Gorgona.

On the main land over againſt this iſland of Gorgona, we were told by our priſoners, that up a great lake is an Indian town, where they have a large quantity of ſand grains of gold: moreover, that five days ſail up a river belonging to the ſaid lake dwell four Spaniſh ſuperintendants, who have each of them the charge of overſeeing fifty or ſixty Indians who are employed in gathering the gold which ſlippeth from the chief collectors, or finders thereof: theſe are at leaſt threeſcore and ten, or fourſcore Spaniards, with a great number of ſlaves belonging to them, who dwell higher up than theſe four ſuperintendants, at the diſtance of twenty-five or thirty days ſailing on the ſaid river. That once every year at a certain ſeaſon, there comes a veſſel from Lima, the capital city of Peru, to fetch the gold that is gathered

thered here; and withal, to bring theſe people ſuch neceſſaries as they want: by land it is full ſix weeks travel from thence to Lima. The main land to windward of this iſland is very low and full of rivers; all along the coaſt it rains extremely: the iſland is diſtant from the continent only four leagues.

Captain Sharp gave this iſland the name of Sharp's Iſle, by reaſon we careened at this place. We anchored on the South-ſide of it, at the mouth of a very fine river, which there diſgorgeth itſelf into the ſea: there belong to this iſland about thirty rivers and rivulets, all which fall from the rocks on the ſeveral ſides of the iſland: the whole circumference thereof is about three leagues and a half, being all high and mountainous land, excepting only on that ſide where we caſt anchor. Here therefore we moored our ſhip in the depth of eighteen or twenty fathom water, and began to unrig the veſſel: but we were four or five days ſpace before we could get our ſails dry, ſo as to be able to take them from the yards, there falling a ſhower of rain almoſt every hour, day and night: the main land to the eaſt of the iſland, and ſo ſtretching northwards, is extreme high and towering, and withal perpetually clouded, excepting only at the riſing of the ſun, when the tops of thoſe hills are clear. From the South-ſide of this iſland where we anchored, we could ſee the low land of the main, at leaſt a point thereof, which lieth neareſt to the iſland: the appearance it maketh, is, as if it were trees growing out of the water.

Friday, July 2d, as we were heaving down our ſhip, our mainmaſt happened to crack; hereupon our carpenters were obliged to cut out large fiſhes and fiſh it, as they term it.

The next day after the miſchance of our mainmaſt, we killed a ſnake fourteen inches thick, and eleven feet long. About the diſtance of a league from this iſland

iſland runs a ledge of rocks, over which the water continually breaks; the ledge being about two miles, or thereabouts, in length Had we but anchored but half a mile more northerly, we had rid in much ſmoother water; for here the wind came in upon us in violent guſts. While we were there, from 13th, to July 3d, we had dry weather, which was eſteemed as a rarity by the Spaniards, our priſoners. Every day we ſaw whales and grampuſſes, who would often come and dive under our ſhip; we fired at them ſeveral times, but our bullets rebounded from their bodies. Our choice and beſt proviſions here were Indian conies, monkeys, ſnakes, oyſters, concks, periwinkles, with ſome other ſorts of good fiſh, and a few ſmall turtle. Here we alſo caught a ſloath, a beaſt well deſerving that name, given it by the Spaniards, by whom it is called Pereza, from the Latin word Pigritia.

At this iſland died Joſeph Gabriel, a Spaniard, born in Chili, who was to have been our pilot to Panama; he was the ſame man who had ſtolen and married the Indian king's daughter, as was mentioned above: he had all along been very true and faithful to us, in diſcovering ſeveral plots and conſpiracies of our priſoners, either to get away, or deſtroy us. His death was occaſioned by a calenture, or malignant fever, which killed him after three days ſickneſs, having lain two days ſenſeleſs. During the time of our ſtay at this iſland, we lengthened our top-ſail yards, and got up top-gallant maſts; we made two ſtay-ſails, and refitted our ſhip very well; but we wanted proviſions extremely, as having nothing conſiderable of any ſort, but flour and water. Being almoſt ready to depart, captain Sharp our commander gave us to underſtand, he had changed his reſolution, concerning the deſign of going to Guayaquil, for he thought it would be in vain to go thither, conſider-

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ing that in all this time we muſt of neceſſity have been deſcried: yet, notwithſtanding he himſelf before had perſuaded us to ſtay. Being very doubtful among ourſelves what courſe we ſhould take, a certain old man who had a long time ſailed among the Spaniards, told us he could carry us to a place called Arica, to which town, he ſaid, all the plate was brought down from Potoſi, Chuquiſaca, and ſeveral other places within land, where it was digged out of the mines; and that he doubted not but we might get there at leaſt two thouſand pound a man, by way of booty; for all the plate of the South-ſea lay there, as it were in ſtore, being depoſited at the ſaid place till ſuch time as the ſhips fetched it away. Being moved with theſe reaſons, and having deliberated thereupon, we reſolved in the end to go to the ſaid place. At this iſland of Gorgona aforementioned, we likewiſe took down our round-houſe coach, and all the high carved work belonging to the ſtern of the ſhip: for when we took her from the Spaniards before Panama, ſhe was as high as any third-rate ſhip in England.

CHAP. XI.

The Bucaniers depart from the iſle of Gorgona, with deſign to plunder Arica. They loſe one another by the way. They touch at the iſle of Plate or Drake's Iſle, where they meet again; deſcription of this iſle. Some memoirs of Sir Francis Drake. They ſail as far in a fortnight, as the Spaniards uſually do in three Months.

ON Sunday, July 25, in the afternoon, all things being now in a readineſs for our departure, we ſet ſail, and ſtood away from the iſland of Gorgona, or Sharp's Iſle, with a ſmall breeze which ſerved us

at

at N. W. but as the ſun went down, our breeze leſſened by degrees into a perfect calm; yet we could perceive that our ſhip began to ſail much better ſince the taking down her round-houſe, and and the other alterations which we made in her.

Next day about two o'clock in the morning, we had a land breeze to help us, which laſted for the ſpace of ſix hours; and again in the evening we had another. This day the Spaniards, our priſoners, told us, in common diſcourſe, that in moſt parts of this low-land coaſt they find threeſcore fathom water. The third night, about ten o'clock, captain Sharp ordered me to ſpeak to captain Cox, to go about and ſtand off from the ſhore, for he feared he would come too near it: but he replied, he knew well, that he might ſtand in till two o'clock. The next morning early, being cloudy and quite calm, we ſaw him not, and notwithſtanding at eight o'clock it cleared up, neither then could we get ſight of him; from hence we concluded, and ſo it proved, that we had loſt him in the dark, through his obſtinacy in ſtanding in too long, and not coming about when we ſpoke to him. Thus our admiral's ſhip was left alone, and we had not the company of captain Cox again, till we arrived at the Iſle of Plate, where we had the good fortune to find him again, as ſhall be mentioned hereafter. The weather being clear this morning, we could ſee Gorgona, at the diſtance of at leaſt fifteen or ſixteen leagues to the eaſt-north-eaſt.

Thurſday, July 29, 1680, about four in the afternoon we came within ſight of the iſland del Gallo, which I gueſſed to be nigh twenty-eight leagues diſtant from that of Gorgona, the place of our departure, S. W.

The next day, being July 30, the wind blew very freſh and briſk, inſomuch that we were in ſome fear

fear for the heads of our low maſts, as being very ſenſible that they were but weak: about three or four in the afternoon we ſaw another iſland, ſix or ſeven leagues diſtant from Gallo, called Gorgonilla. All the main land hereabouts lieth very low and flat, and is in very many places overflown and drowned every high water. This day, and the night before it, we loſt by our computation three leagues of our way, which I believe happened by reaſon we ſtood out too far from the land, as having ſtood off all night long.

Auguſt the firſt, which was Sunday, we had a very freſh wind, at W. S. W. with ſeveral ſmall ſhowers of rain. Mean while we got pretty well to windward, by making ſmall trips to and fro: which we performed moſt commonly by ſtanding in three glaſſes, and as many out.

The next day, Auguſt the 2d, in the morning, we came up to the high land of San Iago, where beginneth the high land of this coaſt. We kept at the diſtance of ten leagues from it, making continual ſhort trips, as was mentioned before.

Wedneſday, Auguſt the 4th, we continued ſtill running in the wind's eye, as we had done for two days before. In the afternoon we diſcovered three hills at E. N. E. of our ſhip, which make the land of San Matteo. That evening alſo we ſaw the Cape of San Franciſco.

Thurſday, Auguſt the 5th, we being then about the Cape, it looked very like Beachy-head in England: it is full of white cliffs on all ſides. The land turneth off here to the eaſtward of the ſouth, and maketh a large and deep bay, the circumference whereof is full of pleaſant hills. In the bite of the bay are two high and rocky iſlands, which repreſent exactly two ſhips with their ſails full. We were now come out of the rainy countries into a pleaſant

pleaſant and fair region, where we had for the moſt part a clear ſky, and dry weather; only now and then a ſmall miſt, which would ſoon vaniſh. Mean while a great dew uſed to fall every night, which ſupplied the defect of rain.

On Sunday, Auguſt the 8th, we came cloſe under a wild and mountainous country, and ſaw Cape Paſſao, at the diſtance of ten leagues, or thereabouts, to windward of us. Ever ſince we came on this ſide Mangrove Point, we obſerved a windward current did run along as we ſailed. Under ſhore and lower towards the pitch of the Cape, the land is full of white cliffs and groves.

The next day we had both a fair day, and a freſh wind to help us on our voyage. We obſerved that Cape Paſſao maketh three points, between which are two buoys. The leewardmoſt of the two is three leagues long, and the other four. Adjoining to the bay is a pleaſant valley. Our priſoners informed us, that northward of theſe Capes live certain Indians who ſell maize and other proviſions to any ſhips that happen to come in there. The Cape itſelf is a continued cliff, covered with ſeveral ſorts of ſhrubs and low buſhes. Under theſe cliffs lies a ſandy bay forty feet deep. The Spaniards ſay that the wind is always here between the S. S. W. and W. S. W.

Tueſday, Auguſt the 10th. This morning the ſky was ſo thick and hazy, that we could not ſee the high land, though it were juſt before us; but as ſoon as it cleared up, we ſtood in towards the land, till we came within a mile of the ſhore.

Auguſt the 11th. We found ourſelves N. N. W. from Monte de Chriſto, being a very high and round hill. From thence to windward is ſeen a very pleaſant country, with ſpots here and there of woody land; which cauſes the country all over to look

look like ſo many encloſures of ripe corn-fields. To leeward of the ſaid hill, the land is all high and hilly, with white cliffs at the ſea ſide. The coaſt runs S. W. till it reaches a point of land, within which is the port of Manta. This port is a ſettlement of the Spaniards and Indians together, where ſhips that want proviſions put in, and are furniſhed with ſeveral neceſſaries. About ſix or ſeven leagues to windward of this port is Cape St. Lawrence, butting out into the ſea, in form of the top of a church. As we ſailed we ſaw multitudes of grampuſſes every day, as alſo water ſnakes of divers colours. Both the Spaniards and Indians are very fearful of theſe ſnakes, as believing there is no cure for their bitings.

This day before night we came within ſight of Manta. Here we ſaw the houſes of the town belonging to the port, which were not above twenty or thirty Indian houſes, lying under the windward and the mount. We were not willing to be deſcried by the inhabitants of the place, and hereupon we ſtood off to ſea again.

On Thurſday, Auguſt the 12th, in the morning, we ſaw the iſland of Plate at S. W. at the diſtance of five leagues or thereabouts: it appeared to us to be a plain country. Having made this iſland, we reſolved to go thither and refit our rigging, and get ſome goats which there run wild up and down the country. For, as was ſaid before, at this time we had no other proviſion but flour and water. This day ſeveral great whales came up to us, and dived under our ſhip. One of theſe whales followed our ſhip from two in the afternoon till dark night.

The next morning very early, about ſix of the clock, we came under the aforeſaid iſle of Plate; and here unexpectedly, to our great joy, we found at anchor the ſhip of captain Cox, with his whole company

company (whom we had loſt at ſea for the ſpace of a whole fortnight before) who had arrived there four days before us, and were juſt ready to ſail thence. About ſeven we came to an anchor, and then the other veſſel ſent us a live tortoiſe and a goat to feaſt upon that day; telling us withal of great ſtore of tortoiſes to be found aſhore upon the bays, and of much fiſh to be caught hereabouts. The iſland is very ſteep on all ſides; inſomuch that there is no landing, but only at the N. E. ſide thereof; where is a gully, near which we anchored in twelve fathom water. Here, at the diſtance of a a furlong, or little more from the ſhore, is a croſs ſtill ſtanding, erected at the firſt diſcovery of it by the Spaniards. No trees are to be found on the whole iſland, only low ſhrubs, on which the goats feed, which are here very numerous. The ſhore is bold and hard, neither is there any water to be found upon it, ſave only the S. W. ſide, where it cannot be come at, being ſo invironed by the rocks, and too great a ſea hindering the approach by boats.

This iſland received its name from Sir Francis Drake, and his famous actions. For it is reported that he here made the dividend of that vaſt quantity of plate, which he took in the Armada of this ſea, diſtributing to each man of his company by whole bowls full. The Spaniards affirm to this day, that he took at that time twelveſcore tons of plate, and ſixteen bowls of coined money a man; his number being then forty-five men in all; inſomuch that they were forced to heave much of it overboard, becauſe his ſhip could not carry it all. Hence this iſland was called by the Spaniards the Iſle of Plate, from this great dividend, and by us Drake's-Iſle.

All along as we ſailed, we found the Spaniſh pilot to be very ignorant of the coaſts. But they plead in excuſe for their ignorance, that the mer-

chants

chants either of Mexico, Lima, Panama, or other parts, who employ them, will not intruſt one penny-worth of goods on that man's veſſel that corks her, for fear ſhe ſhould miſcarry. Here our priſoners told us likewiſe, that in the time of Oliver Cromwell, or the Commonwealth of England, a certain ſhip was fitted out of Lima with ſeventy braſs guns, having on board her no leſs than thirty millions of dollars, or pieces of eight. All which vaſt ſum of money was given by the merchants of Lima, and ſent as a preſent to our gracious king (or rather his father) who now reigneth, to ſupply him in his exile and diſtreſs. But that this great and rich ſhip was loſt by keeping along the ſhore in the bay of Manta above-mentioned, or thereabouts. The truth whereof is much to be queſtioned.

At this iſland we took out of Mr. Cox's ſhip, the old Moor who pretended he would be our pilot to Arica. This was done leſt we ſhould have the misfortune of loſing the company of Cox's veſſel, as we had done before, our ſhip being the biggeſt in burden, and having the greateſt number of men. Captain Peralta oftentimes admired that we were gotten ſo far to the windward in ſo little ſpace of time; whereas they had been, he ſaid, many times three or four months in reaching to this diſtance from our departure: but their long and tedious voyages, he added, were occaſioned by their keeping at too great a diſtance from the ſhore. Moreover he told us, that had we gone to the iſlands of Galapagos, as we were once determined to do, we had met with many calms and currents, in which many ſhips have been loſt, and never heard of more. This iſland of Plate is about two leagues in length, and very full of deep and dangerous bays, as alſo ſuch as we call Gullies in theſe parts.

We

We caught at this iſland, and ſalted a good number of goats and tortoiſes. One man ſtanding here on a little bay, in one day turned ſeventeen tortoiſes; beſides which number, our Muſqueto ſtrikers brought us in ſeveral more. Captain Sharp our commander ſhewed himſelf very ingenious in ſtriking them, he performing it as well as the tortoiſe-ſtrikers themſelves. For theſe creatures have ſo little ſenſe of fear, that they offer not to ſink from the fiſhermen, but lie ſtill till they are ſtruck. But we found that the tortoiſes on this ſide were not ſo large nor ſo ſweet to the taſte, as thoſe on the north-ſide of the iſland. Of goats we have taken, killed, and ſalted above a hundred in a day, and that with eaſe. While we ſtayed here we made a ſquare main-top-ſail yard. We cut alſo ſix feet of our boltſprit, and three feet more of our head. Moſt of the time we remained here we had hazy weather; only now and then the ſun would happen to break out, and then ſhine ſo hot, that it burnt the ſkin off the necks of ſeveral of our men; as for me, my lips were burnt ſo that they were not well in a whole week after.

CHAP. XII.

Captain Sharp and his company depart from the iſland of Plate, in proſecution of their voyage towards Arica. They take two Spaniſh veſſels by the way, and get intelligence from the enemy. Eight of their company deſtroyed at the iſle of Gallo. Tedioufneſs of this voyage, and great hardſhip they endured.

HAving taken in proviſions and other neceſſaries we could get at the iſle of Plate, we ſet ſail from thence, Tueſday the 17th of Auguſt, 1680.

in proſecution of our voyage and deſigns above-mentioned, to take and plunder the vaſtly rich town of Arica. This day we ſailed ſo well, as we did likewiſe ſeveral days after, that we were forced to lie by ſeveral times, beſides preſſing our topſails, to keep our other ſhip company, leſt we ſhould loſe her again.

Next morning, about break of day, we found ourſelves at the diſtance of ſeven or eight leagues to the weſtward of the iſland, from whence we departed, ſtanding W. by S. with a S. by W. wind. We were ſeveral times this day forced to ſtay for the other veſſel belonging to our company.

The day following we continued likewiſe a weſt courſe all the day long. Hereabouts we obſerved very great riplings of the ſea.

Auguſt the 20th. We found ſtill that we gained very much of the ſmall ſhip, which did not a little both perplex and hinder us in our courſe.

The next day I finiſhed two quadrants; each of which were two feet and a half radius. Here we had in like manner, as hath been mentioned on other days of our ſailings, very many dolphins, and other ſorts of fiſh ſwimming about our ſhip.

On the morning following we ſaw again the iſland of Plate at N. E.

The ſame day, at the diſtance of ſix leagues, or thereabouts, from the ſaid iſland, we ſaw another iſland called Solango. This iſle lies cloſe in by the main land. This day likewiſe we found that our leſſer ſhip was ſtill a great hindrance to our ſailing, as being forced to lie by, and ſtay for her two or three hours every day. We found likewiſe, that the farther from ſhore we were, the leſs wind we had all along; and that under the ſhore we were always ſure of a freſh gale, though not ſo favourable as we could have wiſhed. Hitherto we had uſed to ſtand

off

off forty leagues, and yet notwithſtanding, in the ſpace of ſix days, we had not got above ten leagues on our voyage from the place of our departure.

Auguſt the 23d. This day, at S. by W. and about ſix leagues diſtance from us, we deſcried a long and even hill; I took it to be an iſland, and conjectured it might be at leaſt eight leagues diſtant from the continent; but afterwards we found it was a point of land adjoining to the main, and is called Point St. Helen, being continued by a piece of land which lieth low, and in ſeveral places is almoſt drowned from the ſight, ſo that it cannot be ſeen two leagues diſtance. In this low land the Spaniards have convenience for making pitch, tar, ſalt, and ſome other things, for which purpoſe they have ſeveral houſes here, and a friar who ſerveth them as their chaplain. From Solango to this place are reckoned eleven leagues, or thereabouts. The land is hereabouts indifferent high, and is likewiſe full of bays. We had this day very little wind to help us in our voyage, except now and then a blaſt. Theſe ſometimes would prove pretty fair to us, and allow us for ſome little while a ſouth courſe; but our chiefeſt courſe was S. E. by S.

Here we found no great current of the ſea to move any way. At the iſle of Plata before deſcribed, the ſea ebbs and flows nigh thirteen feet perpendicular. About four leagues to leeward of this point St. Helen is a deep bay, having a key at the mouth of it, which takes up the better part of its wideneſs. In the deepeſt part of the bay on ſhore, we ſaw a great ſmoke, which was at a village belonging to the bay; to which place the people were removed from the point above-mentioned. Hereabouts it is all along a very bold ſhore. At three of the clock in the afternoon, we tacked about to clear ourſelves of the point. Being now

a little way without the point, we ſpied a ſail, which we conceived to be a bark; hereupon we hoiſted out our canoe, and ſent it in purſuit of her, which made directly for the ſhore. But the ſail proved to be nothing but a pair of bark-logs, which arriving on ſhore, the men ſpread their ſails on the ſand of the bay to dry. At the ſame time there came down upon the ſhore an Indian on horſeback, who hallowed to our canoe which had followed the logs. But our men fearing to diſcover who we were, in caſe they went too near the ſhore, left the deſign, and returned back to us. In thoſe parts the Indians have no canoes, nor any wood fit to make them of. Had we been deſcried by theſe poor people, they would in all probability have been very fearful of us: but they offered not to ſtir, which gave us to underſtand, they knew us not. We could perceive from the ſhip a great path leading to the hills. So that we believed this place to be a look-out, or watch-place, for the ſecurity of Guayaquil. Between four and five we doubled the point, and then we deſcried the point Chonday, at the diſtance of ſix leagues S. S. E. from this point.

Tueſday, Auguſt 24th, at noon we took the other ſhip wherein captain Cox ſailed into a tow, ſhe being every day a greater hindrance than another to our voyage. Thus about three in the afternoon we loſt ſight of land, in ſtanding over for Cape Blanco: here we found a ſtrong current move to the S. W. the wind was at S. W. by S. our courſe being S. by E. At the upper end of this gulf, which is framed by the two capes above-mentioned, ſtands the city of Guayaquil, being a very rich place, and the embarcadero, or ſea-port to the great city of Quito. To this place likewiſe many of the merchants of Lima uſually ſend the money they deſign for Old Spain in barks, and by that means

means ſave the cuſtom that otherwiſe they ſhould pay to the king, by carrying it on board the fleet. Hither comes much gold from Quito; and very good, and ſtrong broad-cloth, together with images for the uſe of churches, and ſeveral other things of conſiderable value: but more eſpecially cocoa-nut, whereof chocolate is made, which is ſuppoſed here to be the beſt in the whole univerſe. The town of Guayaquil conſiſts of about one hundred and fifty great houſes, and twice as many little ones: this was the town to which captain Sawkins intended to make his voyage, as was mentioned above. When ſhips of greater burthen come into this gulf, they anchor without Lapina, and then put their lading into leſſer veſſels to carry it to town. Towards the evening of this day a ſmall breeze ſprung up, varying from point to point: after which, about nine o'clock at night we tacked about, and ſtood off at ſea, W. by N.

As ſoon as we had tacked, we happened to ſpy a ſail N. N. E. from us: hereupon we inſtantly caſt off our veſſel which we had in tow, and ſtood round about after them: we came very near the veſſel before they ſaw us, by reaſon of the darkneſs of the night: as ſoon as they eſpyed us they immediately clapt on a wind, and ſailed very well before us; inſomuch, that it was a pretty while before we could come up with them, and within call: we haled them in Spaniſh, by means of an Indian priſoner, and commanded them to lower their top-ſails. They anſwered, they would ſoon make us to lower our own. Hereupon we fired ſeveral guns at them, and they as thick at us again with their harquebuſſes: thus they fought for the ſpace of half an hour, or more, and would have done it longer, had we not killed the man at the helm; after whom, none of the reſt dared to be ſo hardy

as to take his place. With another of our ſhot we cut in pieces and diſabled their main-top hallards; hereupon they cried out for quarter, which we gave them, and entered their ſhip. Being poſſeſſed of the veſſel, we found in her five-and-thirty men, of which number twenty-four were natives of Old Spain: they had one-and-thirty fire-arms on board the ſhip for their defence. They had not fought us, as they declared afterwards, but only out of a bravado, having promiſed on ſhore ſo to do, in caſe they met us at ſea. The captain of this veſſel was a perſon of quality, and his brother, ſince the death of don Jacinto de Barahona, killed in the engagement before Panama, was now made admiral of the ſea armada: with him we took alſo, in this bark, five or ſix other perſons of quality. They did us, in this fight, though ſhort, very great damage in our rigging, by cutting it in pieces. Beſides which, they wounded two of our men: and a third man was wounded by the negligence of one of our own men, occaſioned by a piſtol, which went off unadviſedly. About eleven o'clock this night we ſtood off to the weſt.

The next morning, about break of day, we hoiſted out our canoe, and went aboard the bark which we had taken the night before: we put on board our own ſhip more of the priſoners taken in the ſame veſſel, and began to examine them, to get what intelligence we could from them. The captain of the veſſel, who was a very civil and meek gentleman, ſatisfied our deſires in this point very exactly, ſaying, 'Gentlemen, I am now your priſoner of war by the over-ruling providence of fortune; and moreover, am very well ſatisfied that no money whatſoever can procure my ranſom, at leaſt for the preſent, at your hands: hence I am perſuaded, it is not my intereſt to tell you a lye;

'lye; which if I do, I deſire you to puniſh me as 'ſeverely as you ſhall think fit. We heard of your 'taking and deſtroying our armadilla, and other 'ſhips of Panama, about ſix weeks after that en-'gagement, by two ſeveral barks which arrived 'here from thence, but they could not inform us 'whether you deſigned to come any farther to the 'ſouthward; but rather, deſired we would ſend 'them ſpeedily all the help by ſea that we could: 'hereupon, we ſent the noiſe and rumour of your 'being in theſe ſeas to Lima, deſiring they would 'expedite what ſuccours they could ſend to join 'with ours: we had at that time in our harbour 'two or three great ſhips, but all of them very 'unfit to ſail; for this reaſon, at Lima, the vice-'roy of Peru preſſed three great merchant ſhips, 'into the biggeſt of which he put fourteen braſs-'guns; into the ſecond ten; and in the other ſix: 'unto theſe he added two barks, and put ſeven 'hundred and fifty ſoldiers on board them all: of 'this number of men, they landed eight-ſcore at 'Point St. Helen; all the reſt being carried down 'to Panama, with deſign to fight you there: 'beſides theſe forces, two other men of war, bigger 'than the afore-mentioned, are ſtill lying at Lima, 'and fitting out there with all ſpeed to follow and 'purſue you: one of theſe men of war is equipped 'with thirty-ſix braſs guns, and the other with 'thirty. Theſe ſhips, beſides their complement of 'ſeamen, have four hundred ſoldiers added to them 'by the vice-roy. Another man of war belonging 'to this number, and leſſer than the afore-mentioned, 'is called the Patache; this ſhip carries twenty-four 'guns, and was ſent to Arica to fetch the king's 'plate from thence; but the vice-roy having re-'ceived intelligence of your exploits at Panama, ſent

'for this ſhip back from thence in ſuch haſte, that 'they came away and left the money behind them: 'hence the Patache now lies at the port of Callao, 'ready to ſail on the firſt occaſion, or news of your 'arrival thereabouts; they having for this purpoſe 'ſent to all parts very ſtrict orders to keep a good 'look-out on all ſides, and all places along the 'coaſt: ſince this, from Manta they ſent us word, 'that they had ſeen two ſhips at ſea paſs by that 'place: and from the Goat-Key alſo we heard, that 'the Indians had ſeen you, and that they were aſ- 'ſured, that one of your veſſels was the ſhip called 'La Trinidad, which you had taken before Panama, 'as being a ſhip very well known in theſe ſeas: 'from hence we concluded that your deſign was to 'ply and make your voyage thereabouts: now this 'bark wherein you took us priſoners, being bound 'for Panama, the governor of Guayaquil ſent us out 'before her departure, if poſſible, to diſcover you; 'which if we did, we were to run the bark on ſhore 'and get away, or elſe to fight you with theſe ſol- 'diers and fire arms that you ſee. As ſoon as we 'heard of your being in theſe ſeas, we built two 'forts, the one of ſix guns, and the other of four, 'for the defence of the town. At the laſt muſter 'taken in the town of Guayaquil, we had there 'eight hundred and fifty men, of all colours; but 'when we came out, we left only two hundred 'and fifty men that were actually under arms.'

Thus ended the relation of that worthy gentleman. About noon that day we unrigged the bark which we had taken, and then ſunk her. Then we ſtood S. S. E. and afterwards S. by W. and S. S. W. That evening we ſaw Point St. Helen at the north half eaſt, at the diſtance of nine leagues or thereabouts.

The

The next day, being Auguſt 26th, in the morning we ſtood ſouth. The next day we reckoned up all our pillage, and found it amounted to 3276 pieces of eight, which was accordingly divided into ſhares amongſt us. We alſo puniſhed a friar, who was chaplain to the bark afore-mentioned, and ſhot him upon the deck, caſting him over-board before he was dead: ſuch cruelties, though I abhorred very much in my heart, yet here was I forced to hold my tongue and not contradict them, as having no authority to overſway them. About ten o'clock this morning we ſaw land again, and the pilot ſaid we were ſixteen leagues to leeward of Cabo Blanco: Hereupon we ſtood off and in, cloſe under the ſhore, which appeared to be all barren land.

The morning following we had very little wind; ſo that we advanced but ſlowly all that day: to windward of us we could perceive the continent to be all high land, being whitiſh clay, full of white cliffs. This morning, in common diſcourſe, our priſoners acknowledged they had deſtroyed one of our little barks, which we loſt in our way to the iſland of Cayboa. They ſtood away, as it appeared by their information, for the Goat-Key, thinking to find us there, as having heard captain Sawkins ſay, that he would go thither. On their way they happened to fall in with the iſland of Gallo, and underſtanding its weakneſs by their Indian pilot, they ventured on ſhore, and took the place, carrying away three white women in their company. But after a ſmall time of cruiſing, they returned again to the afore-mentioned iſland, where they ſtayed the ſpace of two or three days; after which they went to ſea again. Within three or four days they came to a little key four leagues diſtant from this iſle. But while they had been out and in thus ſeveral times, one of their priſoners made his eſcape

to the main, and brought off from thence fifty men with fire-arms. Theſe placing themſelves in ambuſcade, at the firſt volley of their ſhot killed ſix of the ſeven men that belonged to the bark. The other man that was left took quarter of the enemy; and he it was that diſcovered our deſign upon the town of Guayaquil. By an obſervation which was made this day, we found ourſelves to be in the latitude of 3 D. 50 S. At this time our priſoners told us, there was an embargo laid on all the Spaniſh ſhips, commanding them not to ſtir out of the ports, for fear of falling into our hands.

Saturday, Auguſt the 28th. This morning we took out all the water, and moſt part of the flour that was in captain Cox's veſſel: having done this, we made a hole in the veſſel, and left her to ſink, with a ſmall old canoe at her ſtern. To leeward of Manta, a league from ſhore, in eighteen fathom water, there runs a great current outwards. About eleven in the forenoon we weighed anchor, with wind at W. N. W. turning it out. Our number was now 140 men and boys, and 55 priſoners, all now in one and the ſame bottom. This day we got ſix or ſeven leagues in the wind's eye.

All the day following we had a very ſtrong S. S. W. wind, inſomuch that we were forced to ſail with two riffs in our main-top ſail, and one alſo in our fore-top-ſail. Here captain Peralta told us, that the firſt place which the Spaniards ſettled in theſe parts, after Panama, was Tumbes, now to leeward of us; that there a prieſt went aſhore with a croſs in his hand, while ten thouſand Indians gazed at him; being landed, there came two lions out of the woods, and after them two tygers, on the backs of whom the prieſt having gently laid the croſs, they fell down and worſhipped it; which gave ſuch a teſtimony to the truth of the chriſtian religion, that the Indians

Indians ſoon embraced the ſame. About four in the evening we came abreaſt the cape (Cape-Blanco) which is the higheſt part of all. The land thereabouts appeareth to be barren and rocky.

Were it not for a windward current which runs under the ſhore hereabouts, it were totally impoſſible for any ſhips to get about this cape, there being ſuch a great current to the leeward in the offing. In the laſt bark which we took, of which we ſpoke in this chapter, we made priſoner one Nicholas Moreno, a Spaniard by birth, and who was eſteemed to be a very good pilot of the South-Sea. He was continually praiſing the ſailing of our ſhip, which he ſaid was eſpecially occaſioned by the alterations we made in her. As we went along, we obſerved many bays between this cape and point Parina, of which we ſhall make mention hereafter.

In the night the wind came about to S. S. E. and we had a very ſtiff gale; ſo that by break of day we found ourſelves about five leagues to windward of the cape afore-mentioned.

The next day likewiſe, being the laſt of Auguſt, the wind ſtill continued S. S. E. as it had done the whole day before. This day we thought it convenient to ſtand farther out to ſea, for fear of being deſcried at Paita, which now was not very far diſtant from us. The morning proved hazy. But about eleven we ſpied a ſail, which ſtood then juſt as we did, E. by S. Coming nearer by degrees, we found her to be nothing but a pair of bark-logs under ſail. Our pilot adviſed us not to meddle with, or take any notice of them, for it was very doubtful whether we ſhould be able to come up with them or not; and then by giving chace to them, we ſhould eaſily be deſcried and known to be Engliſh pirates, at they called us. Theſe bark-logs ſail excellently well for the moſt part, and ſome

of them are ſo big as to carry two hundred and fifty pecks of meal from the vallies to Panama, without wetting any of it. This day, by an obſervation made, we found ourſelves in 4 degrees 55 minutes latitude ſouth: we ſaw point Parina at N. E. by E. and at the diſtance of ſix leagues, or thereabouts.

At the ſame time La Silla de Paita bore from us S. E. by E. being diſtant only ſeven or eight leagues.

The town of Paita is ſituated in a deep bay about two leagues to the leeward of this hill. It ſerves for an embarcadero, or port town, to another great place which is diſtant from thence about thirteen leagues higher in the country, and is called Piura, ſeated in a very barren country.

On Wedneſday the firſt of September our courſe was S. by W. The midnight before there ſprung up a land wind.

That night as we ſailed we ſaw ſomething that appeared to us like a light; and the next morning we ſpied a ſail, from whence we judged the light had come. The veſſel was ſix leagues from us in the wind's eye, and thereupon we gave her chace. She ſtood to windward as we did. This day we had an obſervation, which gave us latitude 5 degrees 30 ſeconds. At night we were about four leagues to leeward of her, but ſo great a miſt fell, that we ſuddenly loſt ſight of her. At this time the weather was as cold with us as in England in November. Every time we went about with our ſhip, the other did the like. Our pilot told us, that this ſhip ſet forth from Guayaquil eleven days before they were taken; and that ſhe was laden with rigging, woollen, and cotton cloth, and other manufactures made at Quito. Moreover, that he heard that they had ſpent a maſt, and had put into Paita to refit it.

The

The night following they ſhewed us ſeveral lights through their negligence, which they ought not to have done, for by that means we ſteered directly after them: the next morning ſhe was above three leagues in the wind's eye from us. Had they ſuſpected us, it could not be doubted, but they would have made towards the land; but they ſeemed not to fly nor ſtir for our chace. The land here all along is level, and not very high. The weather was hazy, ſo that about eleven that morning we loſt ſight of her. At this time we had been a whole week, at an allowance of only two draughts of water a day, ſo ſcarce were proviſions with us. That afternoon we ſaw the veſſel again, and at night we were not full two leagues from her, and not above half a league to the leeward. We made ſhort trips all that night.

On Saturday, September the fourth, about break of day, we ſaw the ſhip again at the diſtance of a league, or thereabouts, and not above a mile to windward of us. They ſtood out as ſoon as they eſpied us, and we ſtood directly after them. Having purſued them for ſeveral hours, about four in the afternoon we came up within half-ſhot of our ſmall arms to windward of them. Hereupon they perceiving who we were, preſently lowered all their ſails at once, and we caſt dice among ourſelves for the firſt entrance. The lot fell to larboard; ſo that twenty men belonging to that watch entered her. In the veſſel were found fifty packs of cocoa-nut, ſuch as chocolate is made of, many packs of raw-ſilk, Indian cloth, and thread-ſtockings; theſe things being the principal part of her cargo. We ſtood out S.W. by S. all the night following.

Next day we put on board our ſhip the chief part of her lading. In her hold we found ſome rigging, as Nicholas Moreno, our pilot, taken in the former veſſel

veſſel of Guayaquil, told us; but the greateſt part of it was full of timber. We took out of her alſo ſome oſenbriggs, of which we made top-gallant ſails, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. It was now nineteen days, as they told us, ſince they had ſet ſail from Guayaquil; and then they had only heard there of our exploits before Panama, but did not ſo much as think of our coming ſo far to the ſouthward, which did not give them the leaſt ſuſpicion of us, though they had ſeen us for the ſpace of two or three days before at ſea, and always ſteering after them; otherwiſe they had made for the land, and endeavoured to eſcape our hands.

Next morning likewiſe we continued to take in the remaining part of what goods we deſired out of our prize. When we had done, we ſent moſt of our priſoners on board the ſaid veſſel, and left only their fore-maſt ſtanding, all the reſt being cut down by the board. We gave them a fore-ſail to ſail withal, all their own water, and ſome of our flour to ſerve them for proviſion; and thus we turned them away, as not caring to be troubled or encumbered with their company. Notwithſtanding we detained ſtill ſeveral of the chief of our priſoners. Such were don Thomas de Argandona, who was commander of the veſſel taken before Guayaquil; don Chriſtoval, and don Baltazar, both gentlemen of quality taken with him; captain Peralta, captain Juan Moreno the pilot, and twelve ſlaves, of whom we intended to make good uſe, to do the drugery of our ſhip. At this time I reckoned we were about the diſtance of thirty-five leagues, or thereabouts, from land. By an obſervation made this day, we found latitude 7 degrees 1 ſecond. Our plunder being over, and our prize turned away, we ſold both cheſts, boxes, and ſeveral other things at the maſt by the voice of a cryer.

The

The day following we ſtood S. S. W. and S. W. by S. all day long. This day one of our company died, named Robert Montgomery, being the ſame man that was ſhot by the negligence of one or two of our men with a piſtol through the leg, at the taking of the veſſel before Guayaquil, as was mentioned above. We had an obſervation alſo this day, by which we now found latitude 7 degrees 26 ſeconds. On the ſame day likewiſe we made a dividend, and ſhared all the booty taken in the laſt prize. This being done, we hoiſted into our ſhip the launch which we had taken in her, as being uſeful to us. For ſeveral days paſt, it was obſerved that we had every morning a dark cloud in the ſky; which in the North-ſea would certainly foretel ſtorm, but here it always blew over.

Wedneſday, September the eighth, in the morning, we threw our dead man above-mentioned into the ſea, and gave him three French vollies for his funeral ceremony. The night before we ſaw a light belonging to ſome veſſel at ſea. But we ſtood away from it, as not deſiring to ſee any more ſails to hinder us in our voyage towards Arica, whither now we were deſigned. This light was undoubtedly from ſome ſhip to leeward of us; but next morning we ſaw it not. Here I judged we had made a S. W. by S. way from Paita, and by an obſervation found 8 degrees S.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

A continuation of their long and tedious voyage to Arica, with a deſcription of the ſailings thereunto. Great hardſhip for want of water and other proviſion. They are deſcried at Arica, and dared not land; the country being all in arms before them. They retire from thence, and go to Puerto de Hito, cloſe by Arica. Here they land, take the town with little or no loſs on their ſide: refreſh themſelves with proviſions; but in the end are cheated by the Spaniards, and forced ſhamefully to retreat from thence.

SEptember the ninth, we continued ſtill to make a S. W. by S. way as we had done the day before. By a clear and exact obſervation taken the ſame day we found now latitude 8 degrees 12 ſeconds. All the twenty-four hours laſt paſt afforded us but little on our voyage, and we were forced to tack about four or five hours.

Next day, by another obſervation taken, we found then latitude 9 degrees. Now the weather was much warmer than before; and with this warmth we had ſmall and miſty rains that frequently fell. That evening a ſtrong breeze came up at South-eaſt by Eaſt.

The night following likewiſe there fell a very great dew, and a freſh wind continued to blow. At this time we were all hard at work to make ſmall ſails of the ozenbrigs we had taken in the laſt prize, as being much more convenient for its lightneſs. The next morning, being Saturday September the eleventh, we lay by to mend our rigging. Theſe laſt twenty-four hours we had made a South-weſt by Weſt way. And now we had an obſervation that gave us latitude

10

10 degrees 9 ſeconds. I ſuppoſed this day we were Weſt from Coſmey about the diſtance of eighty-nine leagues and a half.

September the twelfth. This day we reckoned a S. S. W. way, and that we had made thirty-four leagues and three quarters or thereabouts; alſo that all our weſting from Paita was eighty-four leagues. We ſuppoſed ourſelves now to be in latitude 11 degrees 40 ſeconds; but the weather being hazy, no obſervation could be made.

September the thirteenth. Yeſterday in the afternoon we had a great eclipſe of the ſun, which laſted from one of the clock till three after dinner. From this eclipſe I then took the true judgment of our longitude from the Canary Iſlands, and found myſelf to be 285 degrees 35 in latitude 11 degrees 45 ſeconds. The wind was now ſo freſh, that we took in our top-ſails, making a great way under our courſes and ſprit-ſail.

September the fourteenth. We had a cloudy morning, which continued ſo all the firſt part thereof, about eight it cleared up, and then we ſet our fore-top-ſail; and, about noon, our main-top-ſail likewiſe. This was obſervable, that all this great wind precedent did not make any thing of a great ſea. We reckoned this day that we had run by a S. W. by W. way twenty-ſix leagues, and two thirds.

The next day we had cloſe weather, as we had the morning before. Our reckoning was twenty-four leagues and two thirds, by a S. W. by W. way. But by obſervation made, I found myſelf to be 23 degrees South of my reckoning, as being in the latitude of 15 degrees 17 ſeconds.

On the ſixteenth we had but ſmall and variable winds: for the twenty-four hours laſt paſt, we reckoned twenty-four leagues and two thirds, by a S. W. by S. way. By obſervation we had latitude 16 degrees

41 ſeconds That evening we had a gale at E. S. E. which forced us to hand our top-ſails.

The ſeventeenth likewiſe we had many guſts of wind at ſeveral times, forcing us to hand our top-ſails often. But in the forenoon we ſet them with a freſh gale at E. S. E. My reckoning this day was thirty-one leagues by a S. S. W. way. All day long we ſtood by our top-ſails.

The eighteenth. We made a S. by W. way. We reckoned ourſelves to be in latitude 19 degrees 32 ſeconds S. The weather was hazy, and the wind began to ceaſe by degrees.

The next day being the nineteenth, we had a very ſmall wind. I reckoned thirteen leagues and a half, by a S. W. by S. way: and our whole weſting from Paita to be 164 leagues in latitude 20 degrees 6 ſouth. All the afternoon we had a calm with drizling rain.

Monday, September the twentieth. Laſt night we ſaw the Magellan clouds ſo famous among mariners in the South-ſeas. The leaſt of theſe clouds was about the bigneſs of a man's hat. After this ſight the morning was very clear. We had run at noon at E. S. E. thirteen leagues and a half: and by an obſervation then made, we found latitude 20 degrees 15 ſeconds South. This day the wind began to freſhen at W. by S. yet we had a very ſmooth ſea.

Next morning the wind came about to S. W. yet ſlackened by degrees. At four this morning it came to S. by E. and at ten the ſame day to S. E. by S. We had this day a clear obſervation, and by it latitude 20 degrees 25 ſeconds. We ſtood now E. by N. with the wind at S. E.

September the twenty-ſecond. This morning the wind was at E. S. E. By a clear obſervation we found latitude 19 degrees 30 S. Likewiſe on a

N. E.

N. E. by E. way,—and two leagues and two thirds.

September the twenty-third. We had a freſh wind and a high ſea. This morning early, the wind was at E. and about ten at E. N. E. From a clear obſervation we found our latitude 20 degrees 25 ſeconds. The way we made was S. by W. That morning we happened to ſplit our ſprit-ſail.

Next morning the wind was variable and inconſtant, and the weather but hazy. We reckoned a S. by E. way. This day we bent a new main-top-ſail, the old one ſerving for a fore-top-ſail. In the afternoon we had but little wind, whereupon we lowered our main-top-ſails, being a very ſmooth ſea.

The following day being likewiſe calm and warm, we ſet up our ſhrouds both fore and aft. An obſervation taken this day afforded us latitude 21 degrees 57S. That evening we bent a ſprit-ſail.

September the twenty-ſixth. An obſervation gave us latitude 22 degrees 57 S. At noon we had a breeze at N. N. E. our courſe being E. S. E. In the afternoon we ſet up a larboard top-ſail ſtudden-ſail, in the evening the wind came about at north pretty freſh.

Next day we had a ſmooth ſea, and took in four ſtudden-ſails. For the day before, in the afternoon, we had put out, beſides that abovementioned, another ſtudden-ſail, and two main ſtudden-ſails more. This day we had by obſervation 22 degrees 45 ſeconds, having made by an E. S. E. way, thirty-five leagues and a half. Our whole meridian difference was ſixty-eight leagues and a half.

September the twenty-eighth. All the forenoon we had very little wind, and yet withal a great ſouth-

ern

45 ſeconds. Here we ſuppoſed ourſelves fifty-nine leagues D. M.

The fifth we had ſtill a great ſea, and ſharp and cold wind, forcing us to our low ſails. By a N. E. by E. way, we reckoned this day twenty-ſix leagues and a half.

But on the ſixth we had great guſts of wind, inſomuch that this morning our ring-bolts gave way which held our main ſtay, and had like to have brought our main-maſt by the board. Hereupon we ran three or four glaſſes weſt before the wind. By an obſervation we found latitude 19 degrees 4 ſeconds.

The ſeventh of October the wind was ſomething fallen. We had both a cloudy day and variable winds.

The eighth of the ſaid month we had again a ſmooth ſea, and ſmall whiffling winds. This morning we ſaw a huge ſhoal of fiſh, two or three water ſnakes, and ſeveral ſeals.

Next day we had likewiſe a very ſmooth ſea, and a cloudy day. Our courſe was eaſt.

October the tenth we had alſo a cloudy day, with ſmall and variable winds, and, as a conſequent thereof, a ſmoth ſea. Our way was S. by E. This day we ſpied floating upon the ſea ſeveral tufts of ſea-graſs, which gave us good hopes that we were not far from ſhore. In the afternoon we had a S. E. by E. wind that ſprang up: the night was very cold and cloudy.

The eleventh we had a freſh wind at S. E. and E. S. E. together with a cloudy day; ſuch as we had experimented for ſeveral days before: we reckoned this day thirty-two leagues by a N. E. by E. way. Our pilot told us, the ſky is always hazy near the ſhore on theſe coaſts.

October

October the twelfth. We had a clear day, and a North-eaſt way.

The thirteenth. We had but little wind: this day we ſaw a whale, which we took for an infallible token that we were not far diſtant from land, which now we hoped to ſee in a few days. We made an E. S. E. way, and by it we reckoned nineteen leagues, all the evening was very calm.

Thurſday, October the fourteenth. We had both a calm and cloſe day till afternoon, then the weather became very hot and clear. This day we ſaw ſeveral land-fowls, being but a ſmall bird; concerning which our pilot ſaid, that they uſe to appear about one or two days ſail from the land. Our reckoning was eleven leagues by an E. S. E. way. In the evening we thought we had ſeen land, but it proved to be nothing but a foggy bank.

October the fifteenth. Both the night paſt, and this day, was very clear: we made an obſervation this day, which gave us latitude 18 degrees South.

The ſixteenth. Laſt night and this day were contrary to the former, both cloudy. Our way was N. E. by E. whereof we reckoned thirteen leagues.

Sunday, October the ſeventeenth. The wind blew very freſh, our courſe being E. N. E. About five that morning we ſaw land; but the weather was ſo hazy, that at firſt we could ſcarce perceive whether it was land or not. It was diſtant from us about eight leagues, and appeared as a high and round hill, being in form like a ſugar-loaf. We ſaw land afterwards all along to the S. E. by E. from it: in the evening, we being then within five leagues of the ſhore, the land appeared very high and ſteep.

October

October the eighteenth. All the night laſt paſt we ſtood off to ſea with a freſh wind. This morning we could juſt ſee land at N. N. E. We reckoned a S. E. by E. way; and by obſervation we found latitude 17 degrees 17 S.

Tueſday, October the nineteenth. We had very cloudy weather, finding what our pilot had told us to be very true, concerning the hazineſs of this ſhore. We ſaw all along as we went very high land, covered with clouds, inſomuch that we could not ſee its top.

Wedneſday, October the twentieth. We had likewiſe cloudy weather, and for the moſt part calm, which continued ſo the day next.

Friday, October twenty-ſecond. This morning we ſaw land before us. Our pilot being aſked what land that was, anſwered, It was the point of Hilo.

There is every morning and evening a brightneſs over the point which laſts for two or three hours, being cauſed by the reflection of the ſun on the barren land, as is ſuppoſed. This day we had but little wind, and the great want of water, we were now under, occaſioned much diſturbance among our men: As for my part, I muſt acknowledge, I could not ſleep all night long through the greatneſs of my drought. We could willingly have landed here to ſeek for water; but the fear of being diſcovered, and making ourſelves known, hindered us from ſo doing. Thus we unanimouſly reſolved to endure our thirſt a little longer. Hereabouts is a ſmall current that runs under the ſhore. This morning we had but little wind at ſouth, our courſe being E. S. E.

Our wind continued to blow not above ſix hours each day. We reckoned the difference of our meridian to be this day one hundred and eighty leagues. We

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were now hard put to it for want of water, having but half a pint a day to our allowance.

October the twenty-third. This day we were forced to ſpare one meaſure of water, thereby to make it hold out the longer; ſo ſcarce it became with us.

About nine a clock at night we had a land wind, and with it we ſtood S. E. by S. But all the night after we had but little wind.

October the twenty-fourth. All the night paſt we had very cloudy and dark weather, with mizling rain. The morning being come, cleared up; but all the land appeared covered with clouds.

This day we reſolved 112 men ſhould go aſhore. And about eight this evening we ſent our launch and four canoes, with 89 men, to take three or four fiſhermen at a certain river cloſe by *Mora de Sama*, called *el Rio de Juan Diaz*, with intent to gain what intelligence we could how affairs ſtood at preſent on the coaſt and country thereabouts.

Monday, October the twenty-fifth. Laſt night being about the diſtance of one league and a half from the ſhore, we ſounded, and found forty-five fathom water, with hard ground at the bottom. This morning our people and canoes that were ſent to take the fiſhermen returned, not being able to find either their houſes, or the river: they reported withall, they had had a very freſh wind all the night long under ſhore, whereas we had not one breath of wind all night on board.

Tueſday, October the twenty-ſixth. The evening before, about ſix o' clock, we left the ſhip to go to take Arica, reſolving to land about the diſtance of a league to windward of the town. We were about ſix leagues from the town when we left the ſhip, whereby we were forced to row all night, that

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we might reach before day the place of our landing. Towards morning the canoes left the launch, which they had all night in a tow, and wherein I was; and made all the ſpeed they poſſibly could for the ſhore, with deſign to land before the launch could arrive. But being come near the place we deſigned to land at, we found, to our great diſappointment, we were diſcovered, and that, all along the ſhore, and through the country, they had certain news of our arrival. Notwithſtanding we would have landed, if we could by any means have found a place to do it in; but the ſea ran ſo high, and with ſuch a force againſt the rocks, that our boats muſt needs have been ſtaved in a thouſand pieces, and we in great danger of wetting our arms, if we ſhould venture aſhore. The bay all round was poſſeſſed by ſeveral parties of horſe, and likewiſe the the tops of the hills; which ſeemed to be gathered there, by a general alarm through the whole country, and that they waited only for our landing, with a deſign to make a ſtrong oppoſition againſt us. They fired a gun at us, but we made them no anſwer, returning to our ſhip, till a fairer opportunity. The hill of Arica is very white, occaſioned by the dung of the abundance of fowls that build their neſts in the hollow thereof. To leeward of the ſaid hill lies a ſmall iſland at about a mile from the ſhore: about half a league from that iſland, we could perceive ſix ſhips at anchor; four of which had their yards taken down from their maſts, but the other two ſeemed ready to ſail. We aſked our pilot concerning theſe ſhips, and he told us, that one of them was mounted with ſix guns, and the other with only four. Being diſappointed of our expectations at Arica, we now reſolved to bear away from thence to the village of Hilo, there to take in water and other proviſions; as alſo to learn what intelligence we

could obtain. All that night we lay under a calm.

October twenty-ſeven. In the morning we found ourſelves about a league to windward of Mora da Sama, notwithſtanding the weather was quite calm, and we only drove with the current at leeward. The land between Hilo and Mora da Sama forms two ſeveral bays, and the coaſt runs along N. W. and S. E. as may appear by the following demonſtration. Over the land we could ſee from our ſhip, as we drove, the coming or riſing of a very high land, at a great diſtance far up in the country.

October twenty-eight. The night before we ſent away our four canoes with fifty men in them, to ſeize and plunder the town of Hilo. All this day was very calm, as the day before.

The next morning about break of day, we had a fair breeze ſprung up, with which we lay right in with the port. About one in the afternoon we anchored.

We caſt anchor at the diſtance of two miles from the village; and then we perceived two flags which our men had put out, having taken the town, and ſet up our Engliſh colours. The Spaniards were retreated to the hills, and there had done the ſame. Being come to an anchor, our commander, captain Sharp, ſent a canoe on board of us, and ordered that all the men our ſhip could ſpare, ſhould come aſhore. Withal they told us, that thoſe of our party that landed the morning before, were met by ſome horſemen on the ſhore, who only exchanged ſome few vollies of ſhot with our men, but were ſoon put to flight; that hereupon our forces had marched directly to the town, where the Spaniards expecting we ſhould have landed at firſt, made a breaſt-work thirty paces long of clay and banks of ſand. Here in a ſmall ſkirmiſh we happened to kill an Indian, who told us before

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he died, that they had received news of our coming nine days ago, from Lima, and but one day before from Arica. Having taken the town, we found therein great quantity of pitch, tar, oil, wine, and flour, with ſeveral other ſorts of proviſions. We endeavoured to keep as good a watch as the Spaniards did on the hills, fearing leſt they ſhould ſuddenly make any attempt to deſtroy us.

Next day, being October the thirtieth, we choſe out threeſcore of our men who were fitteſt to march, and ordered them to go up and ſearch the valley belonging to the town. We found it very pleaſant, being all overſet with fig-trees, olive-trees, orange, lemon, and lime-trees, with many other agreeable fruits: about four miles up the valley we came to a ſugar-work, or Ingenio de azucar, as it is called by the Spaniards, where we found great ſtore of oil and melaſſes; but moſt of the ſugar the owners had hidden from us in the cane itſelf. As we marched up the valley, the Spaniards marched along the hills, and obſerved our motion: from the tops of the hills they often tumbled great ſtones upon us, but with great care we endeavoured to eſcape thoſe dangers, and the report of one gun would make them all to hide their heads immediately: from this houſe, I mean the ſugar-work above-mentioned, Mr. Cox's, myſelf, and one Cannis a Dutchman (who was our interpreter) went to the Spaniards with a flag of truce. They met us very civily, and promiſed to give us fourſcore of beeves for the ranſom of the ſugar-work, upon condition that it ſhould not be ſpoiled nor demoliſhed. With them we agreed, that they ſhould be delivered to us at the port the next day at noon: hereupon captain Sharp in the evening ſent down to the port twenty men, with ſtrict orders that our forces ſhould offer no violence in the leaſt to thoſe that brought down the beeves.

Sunday, October thirty-one. This day being employed in caſting up ſome accounts belonging to our navigation, I reckoned that Hilo was the eaſtward of Paita, one hundred and eighty-ſeven leagues. This morning the captain of the Spaniards came to our commander captain Sharp with a flag of truce, and told him, that ſixteen beeves were already ſent down to the port, and that the reſt ſhould certainly be there the next morning. Hereupon we were ordered to prepare ourſelves to retreat, and march back to the port, and there embark ourſelves on board our ſhip. My advice was to the contrary, that we ſhould rather leave twenty men behind to keep the houſe of the ſugar-work, and that others ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the hills, thereby to clear them of the Spaniards and their look-out. But my counſel not being regarded, each man took away what burthen of ſugar he pleaſed, and thus we returned to our veſſel. Being come there, we found no beeves had been brought down at all, which made us ſuſpect ſome trick in the enemy.

The next morning, being November the firſt, our captain went to the top of the hills before-mentioned, and ſpoke with the Spaniards themſelves concerning the performance of their agreement. The Spaniards made anſwer, that the cattle would certainly come down this night; but in caſe they did not, that the maſter or owner of the ſugar-work was now returned from Potoſi, and we might go up and treat with him, and make, if we pleaſed, a new bargain for the preſervation of his houſe and goods; whoſe intereſt it was more than theirs to ſave it from being demoliſhed. With this anſwer our men returned, and we concluded to wait till the next day for the delivery of the beeves.

The day following, about eight in the morning, there came in to us a flag of truce from the enemy, telling

telling us, that the winds were ſo high, that they could not drive the cattle, otherwiſe they had been delivered before now; but withal, that by noon we ſhould in no manner fail to have them brought to us. Noon being come, and no cattle appearing, we now having filled our water, and finiſhed other concerns, reſolved to be revenged on the enemy, and do them what miſchief we could; at leaſt by ſetting fire on the ſugar-work. Hereupon, threeſcore men of us marched up the valley, and burnt both the houſe, the canes, and the mill belonging to the Ingenio; we broke likewiſe the coppers, coggs, and multitudes of great jars of oil that we found in the houſe: this being done, we brought away more ſugar, and returned to the port over the hills and mountains; the which we found very pleaſant, ſmooth, and level, after once we had aſcended them. It fell out very fortunately to us that we returned back this way we did; for otherwiſe our men at the ſea-ſide had inevitably been cut off, and torn in pieces by the enemy, they being at that time diſperſed, and ſtraggling up and down by two and three in a party. For from the hills we ſpied coming from the northward of the bay, above three hundred horſemen, all riding at full ſpeed towards our men, who had not as yet deſcried them, and little thought of any ſuch danger from the enemy ſo nigh at hand. Being alarmed with this ſight, we threw down what ſugar we had, and ran incontinently to meet them, thereby to give our other men time to rally, and put themſelves into a poſture of defence. We being in good rank and order, fairly proffered them battle upon the bay; but as we advanced to meet them, they retired and rid towards the mountains to ſurround us and take the rocks from us if poſſibly they could. Hereupon, perceiving their intention, we returned back and poſſeſſed ourſelves of the ſaid rocks, and alſo of the lower town; as the Spaniards themſelves did of the upper town (at the diſtance of half a mile

mile from the lower) the hills and the woods adjoining thereunto. The horſemen being now in poſſeſſion of theſe quarters, we could perceive, as far as we could ſee, more and more men reſort to them, ſo that their forces increaſed hourly to conſiderable numbers. We fired one at another as long as we could reach, and the day would permit. But in the mean while we obſerved, that ſeveral of them rid to the watch-hill, and looked out often to the ſea-board. This gave us occaſion to fear, that they had more ſtrength and forces coming that way, which they expected every minute. Hereupon, leſt we ſhould ſpeed worſe than we had done before, we reſolved to embark ſilently in the dark of the night, and go off from that coaſt where the enemy was ſo well provided for us. We carried off a great cheſt of ſugar, whereof we ſhared ſeven pounds weight and a half each man; thirty jars of oil, and great plenty of all ſorts of garden herbs, roots, and moſt excellent fruit.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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